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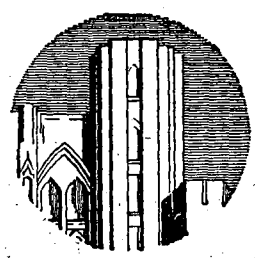

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The Gist Of It

THIS ANNIVERSARY NUMBER MIGHT WELL have reviewed the years during which we have "spread the news of social advance," a purpose set forth in the first issues that bore *The Survey* imprint. Instead we have chosen to focus on here and now, on social work on the firing line of change; and have turned to social workers themselves to speak from the new "fronts" along which they range today.

AS A SPRINGBOARD TO TODAY AND TOMORROW, the editor (page 135) spans the years since we were founded, in times more like these than any before or since. As another look at the way we have come we have traced in *The Survey* files the changing social front of 25 years. (Page 146.) As a link between past and future there is the picture gallery (page 160) of a few of the people who have carried their experience in private social work into leadership in the public field, federal, state and local.

UNTIL LAST FALL WILLIAM HABER, (PAGE 138) as director of the Michigan relief administration, was in the thick of the fray to keep politicians at bay. He is now professor of economics in the department of economics and in the Institute of Public and Social Administration of the University of Michigan.

CHARLES F. ERNST, (PAGE 142) IS DIRECTOR of the Department of Social Security in the state of Washington, where client pressure groups developed early and continue strong. He is president of the American Public Welfare Association.

THOMAS W. ELIOT, WHO TAKES CRACKS (page 145) at several social work heads, including ours, is a professor at Northwestern University.

SOCIAL WORK, LONG PREOCCUPIED WITH techniques, is getting back into social action. Helen Hall, director of Henry Street Settlement, New York, and president of the National Federation of Settlements, tells us why and how. (Page 152.)

EVERYONE IS TALKING ABOUT INTEGRATING the social services. David C. Adie, commissioner, New York State Department of Social Welfare, knows at first hand the necessity and the difficulty. (Page 155.)

HOW THE DEVELOPING SOCIAL INSURANCES may modify our social services is pointed out, (page 158) by Ewan Clague, director of the Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Social Security Board.

AS CONSULTANT ON MEDICAL CARE OF THE American Public Welfare Association Gertrude Sturges, M.D., has a close-up view of the existing confusions in administering tax-supported medical care. (Page 162.)

IN THE DELICATE AND IMPORTANT BUSINESS of getting social agencies to do things together the Chicago Council of Social Agencies has been notably successful. Helen Cody Baker of the council staff, tells us (page 165) how they go about it.

THE CURRENT "HOT SPOT" OF THE PROfessional social worker is taken up by "Miss Bailey" (page 169) chiefly because her creator, Gertrude Springer, found no one else was sufficiently indiscreet to tackle it.

THE REACTION OF THE TAXPAYER AND CONtributor is not to be discounted in reviewing the "here and now." Sidney Hollander minces no words (page 173) in telling of the impatience and uncertainty that he sees and hears around him. He is a Baltimore business man, member of many social agency boards, public and private, local and national.

TEN YEARS AGO MARGARET FARLOW (PAGE 177) was a social worker in the midwestern city to which she recently returned to live.

THIS SPECIAL NUMBER ROUNDS OUT THE silver anniversary celebration of Survey Associates as we turn into a new quarter century. It marks also, fifteen years of *Survey Midmonthly,* as a journal of social work, twenty-nine in all of *The Survey, Charities* and *The Commons* from which it sprang takes us back through forty years of consecutive editorial participation by Edward T. Devine and Graham Taylor. To the editors this anniversary is full of poignant remembrance of Arthur Kellogg whose creative hand, as managing editor, guided *Survey Midmonthly* through its first twelve years as a separate periodical, and whose participation in the publication spanned a third of a century. He died in July 1934.

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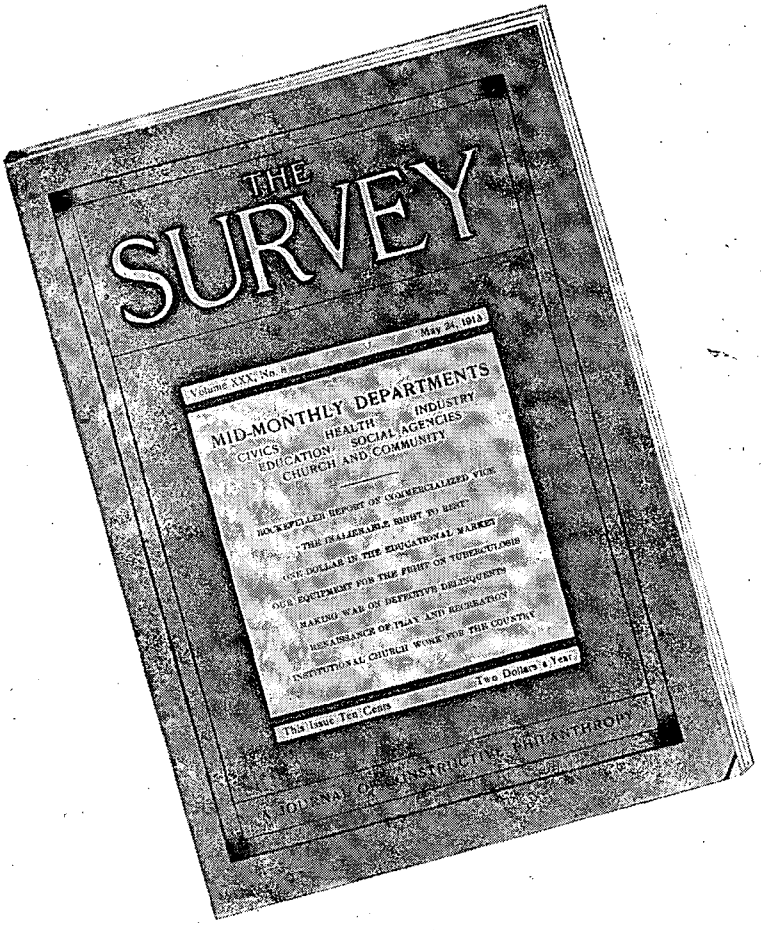
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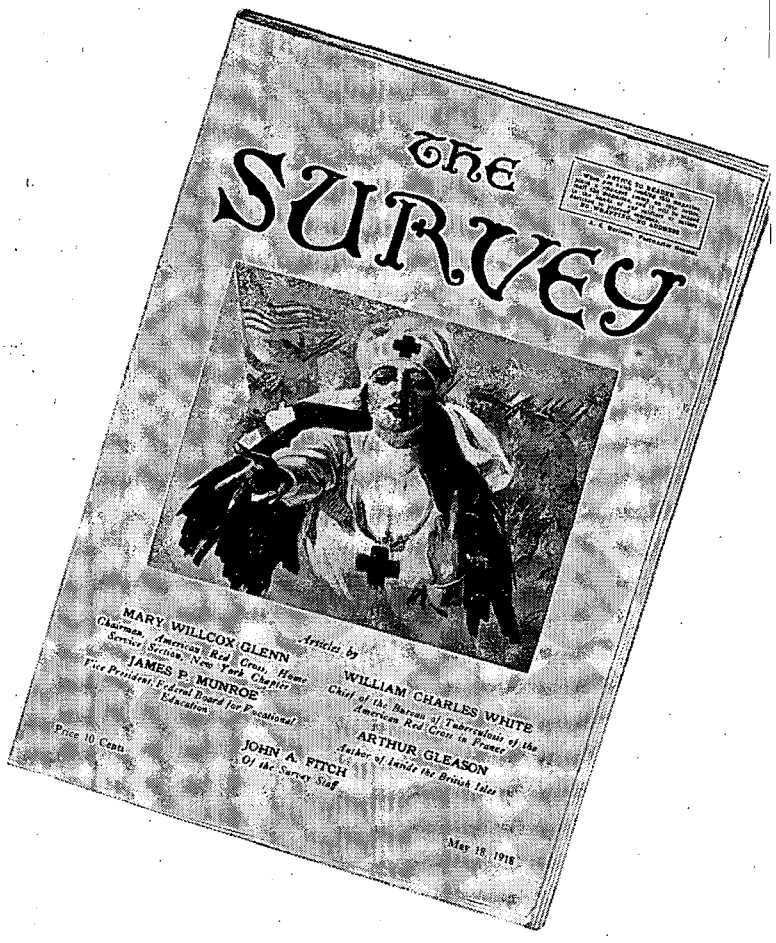
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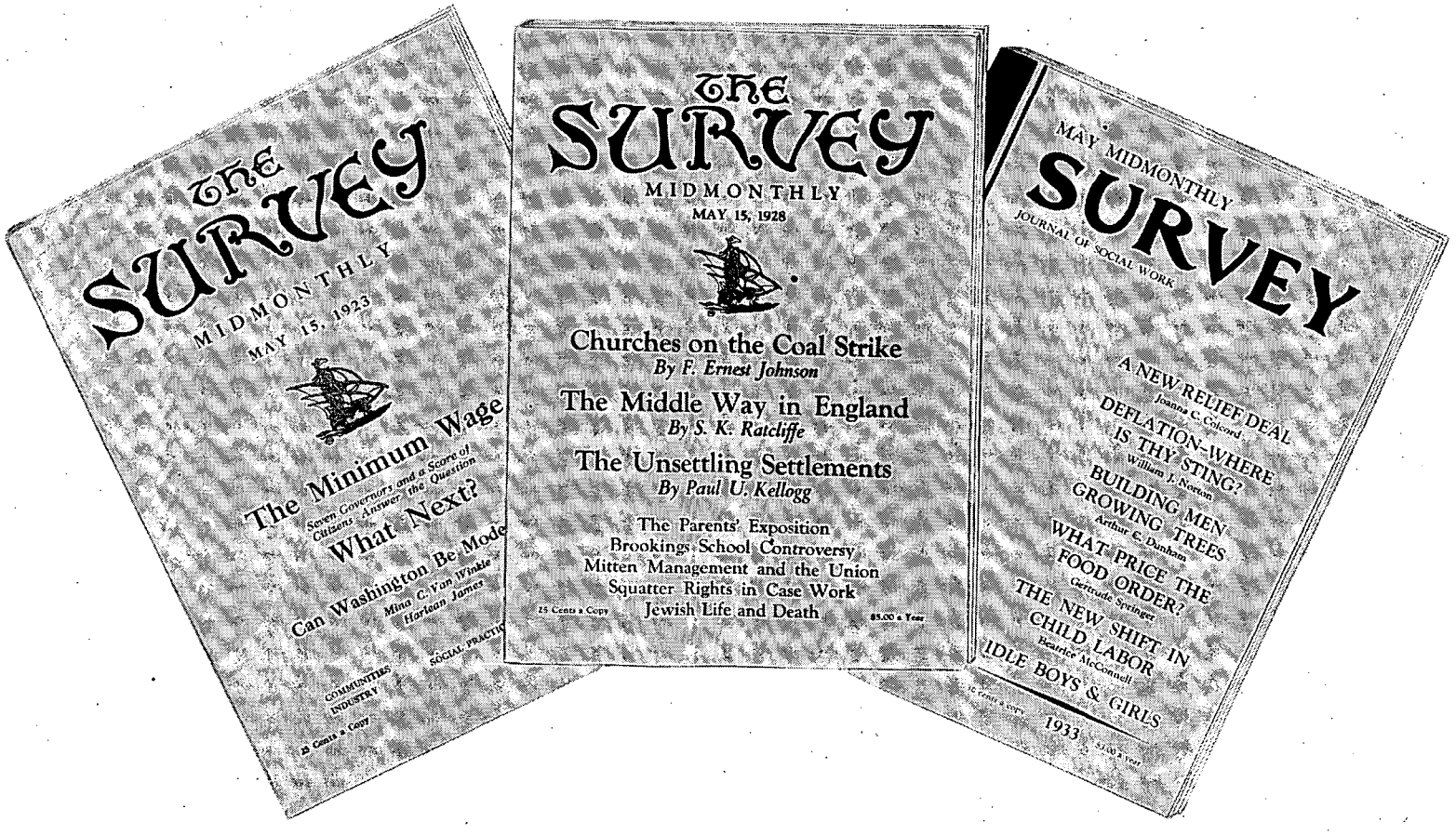

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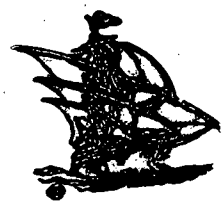

VOL. LXXIV NO. 5

As We Find Ourselves

By PAUL KELLOGG

CERTAINLY none of the older professions has so taken at the flood those tides "in the affairs of men" which swept into the United States in the 1930s. Not the lawyers, doctors, ministers, educators. The nearest comparison to what has been happening to social workers would be with the engineers—young, also, as a modern profession. They came into their stride as such with the development of electricity and the fabrication of steel. Old-time county surveyors and civil engineers were overtaken by an epoch of bridges, skyscrapers, dams; of huge tools and engines and retorts. Like them, suddenly we have been caught in big works. Like them we had more than rules of thumb to give to the times.

Like them, moreover, we have had to adjust ourselves to swift change and to catch its spirit. Eight years ago came the sheer brunt of demands upon us as prosperity slithered off into depression, into mass unemployment and unexampled human needs. Local, state and private social agencies proved altogether too inadequate to lean on for protection. Three years later, with the entrance of the New Deal at Washington, came the shift to emergent, resourceful but untried federal agencies. Then—as again today—we have brought leadership, personnel and standards to the underpinning of nation-wide distress. More, we have shared in shaping and manning government as an instrument for long run schemes for security, health and justice.

So it has come about that things which concerned the pioneers in social work are now the business of everybody. We find ourselves participants in something like a mass meeting on the good of the social order. We are shouldered about by economic and political forces; jostled by taxpayers, officials, unemployed workers; alternately egged on and discomfited by a generation which knows not our Josephs and to which in the large we have yet to get our principles across. But through it all, as never before, we have had a chance to work and to count.

This, as I see it, has not been because of any innate excellence on our part as a body of professionals. We are not so different. Nor even because we had craftsmanship to bring to bear in a great crisis; though that has told in infinite ways. But rather because our activities root through the very humus of American social life.

Most of us would bog down if we were asked to visualize what the scroll-of-the-children-of-men will look like when Gabriel blows his trump on Judgment Day. As a lesser exercise, let's try to picture in the mind's eye all the case records written by all the social workers in all of the states of these United States in the course of a year.

Their primary purpose is firsthand and direct as aids to technical insight and constructive practice. But regard, also, their wide coverage, their amazing bulk as stuff of biography. Consider the extent to which through them the end results of much of what happens to America and Americans finds itself registered in the files of social agencies, private and public, special and general, the country over.

Looked at that way, such case records become the soundings of a new and exploratory profession. That is why social workers are on the firing line today for they are dealing with the consequences and springs of human conduct—whether they treat individual lives or push out into action.

WE may speculate on what would come of it were social workers to revive an ancient art, press their case records on soft clay, fire the bricks. Clearly your archaeologist who dug these up a thousand years from now, like kitchen middens on the sites of American communities, could reconstruct from them not a little of our history as a people.

Some of those bricks would give him clues to the individual initiative and social backwardness that we inherited from the frontiering decades. He could trace the sprawl of industrialism and urban congestion, the whorls of migration in search of opportunity. He would come upon personal histories revealing sequelae of war and untamed nature, unconquered bacteria; come upon the damage done by new speeds, strains, heats, energies, machines, chemicals, pitted against flesh and blood, bone and nerve. He would scan records that showed where scientific advances had been brought to bear on human bodies, human behavior, human institutions. He would learn of the rise of modern equipments, modern foods and amenities, modern standards of living for the average family such as the world had never known before. And along with them, along with much more besides as to our present day America, he would find grim evidence of the great swings of an unbalanced economy that alternately lifted and crushed lives and livelihood.

Social work itself has no such case record of its own life story. Some of its elements, as an art, are so old that the Mother Wit of the race must have served as midwife. Yet, as a profession, ours is so young that the language we use

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does not fit. Words like client, practitioner, layman, are hand-me-downs from older disciplines—too long in the leg or pinched at the waist. Nor were we really christened; merely described. Much as if teachers were called education workers, or physicians hung up shingles as medicine men.

Nonetheless that archaeologist of 2038 could scarcely fail to read between the lines of those clay records. He would find intimations enough of shortcomings among us—of dumbness, rigidity, perversity, bitterness and what not; but he would find enduring imprint of gifts of mind and heart, of slogging work and patience, ardor and inventiveness. He could trace steady advances in scientific method, the zest of recurring adventure and that give and take which is the democratic sequence to charity.

FOR our part, we can turn to living memories. There are still men and women who tell intimately of Edison—when he tinkered at Menlo Park; of the Wrights—when they sailed their kites and then flew themselves at Kitty Hawk; of Ford—when he worked with a kit of tools in his little machine shop. That is the way it is with social work; and out of three score pioneers whose names I should call, let me single out three against the backdrop of one city: Mary E. Richmond, Simon N. Patten, Florence Kelley.

That city is Philadelphia, which drew Miss Richmond from Baltimore and gave her to New York. She had a phrase which meant highest praise—first-rate. That is what she was; quiet, self-developed, a genius in diagnosing and treating families in trouble in ways that elicited regenerative forces within themselves. She drew analogy and method from the older practices of law and medicine; but it was essentially from her own mastery in this newer field that she enriched the principles and concept of case work. With result that it was ready to assimilate and apply the scientific advances to be made by psychology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis in our knowledge of human behavior. So doing, she planted deeper one taproot of American social work.

Tall, gangly, tenacious, Professor Patten carried his midwestern speech and shrewd native observation to the University of Pennsylvania. If Miss Richmond brought to Philadelphia ideas and craftsmanship from the founders of the charity organization movement in England, his bent was to take their kin, the classical economists, for a ride. He stood out for his ingenious approach to social problems; his provocative inductions. Just as he caught the secret of clean recreation at Coney Island, of the twilight of old-time moral institutions in a New England factory town, so he put his finger on our approaching shift from a deficit economy to one of potential surplus—such as we have failed so miserably to contrive to pass around. You will find the shadows and lights of the 1930s anticipated in his New Basis of Civilization. It was Dr. Patten who gave social work its name, but he gave it much more besides in that grasp of the interplay of man and his setting which made his students insurgent against whatever tended to thwart human nature.

Not once, but often, these two crossed pens and philosophies. Miss Richmond may be said to have been concerned with what could be done with and through the second person singular. Or rather, that person and family. The three Rs of readjustment, rehabilitation, reeducation—leading to the revival of a self-dependent well-being. She was a gardener. Dr. Patten was an intense believer in what third persons, plural, could and would do for themselves if you but freed them and gave them the chance. He was a forester.

They came to personify two schools of thought in social work, dubbed retailers and wholesalers, with much vicarious confession as to the sins and shortcomings of each other. Today we are conscious of rapprochement. Looking back, we have a more generous measure of the affirmative contributions of both, and also are alive to where exclusive orthodoxies in either fell short.

Take the early slogan, "Not alms but a friend," under which, historically, private charities of the one school had striven to ban public outdoor relief. They fought pauperization; exposed rank abuses by overseers of the poor and benevolent dole givers alike; were fired with the possibilities in getting people back on their feet without props. This assumed that there always would be something by way of self-support to stand on. What was left of that assumption crumpled up when the great depression cut the ground from under vast companies of wage earners through no fault of their own. Detroit, Boston and Los Angeles, could and did provide relief as a municipal obligation; but in Philadelphia, for example, old laws that had once passed for philanthropic virtue stood in the way. Until the coming of federal unemployment relief, the protection afforded by voluntary funds and stop-gap measures was meager and intermittent, lapsing entirely for one ten-week stretch of stark misery.

Or take the civic virtue of the other school in fighting the cramp of adverse environment. To raze slums as places to live in, to make factories fit as places to work in, to cut down overwork and throw recreation wide as a foil to the monotony of the machine—behind such ends they felt all the forces in community life might be mustered. But there was cramp here, too, in counseling, as some did, that in order not to jeopardize this concert, social work should choose its ground. It should step wide of strikes over wages and other manifestations of the industrial cleavage. Today we have unions no less than professional associations among social workers themselves. That choice was blind to the labor movement as a nascent force, thrusting up with the husks on, from that self-reliance which, individual or collective, was the implicit goal of both schools of thought.

NEITHER of these shortcomings was Mrs. Kelley's; who would have been the first, with her gorgeous laughter, to admit the limitations in her own course hard by the economic struggle. Philadelphia born, she was one of those fighters for whom we thank the City of Brotherly Love. Her father was "Pig Iron Kelley," Congressman from those parts, friend to Lincoln and one of the shapers of that industrialism that sprang from the Civil War. Taken by him to see a glass house in the Pittsburgh district at night, the sight of the blowers' "dogs," small boys who worked dangerously in pits, left an indelible mark on this child of a privileged home. As resident years later at Hull-House, with children of her own, Mrs. Kelley was the first woman to become a chief state inspector of factories.

There, as an associate of Miss Addams—and later at Henry Street, of Miss Wald—she can serve as an exemplar of the dynamic approach which the settlements brought to social work. There she shared in some of our first social-economic studies which put the truth to work. There began her life-long campaign against child labor, her flaming assaults on the exploitation of women workers that were to distinguish her service as secretary of the National Consumers' League. A lawyer by training, a constructor no less than a prophet, she not only scotched hoary abuses with her determined anger, but laid the framework of minimum in-

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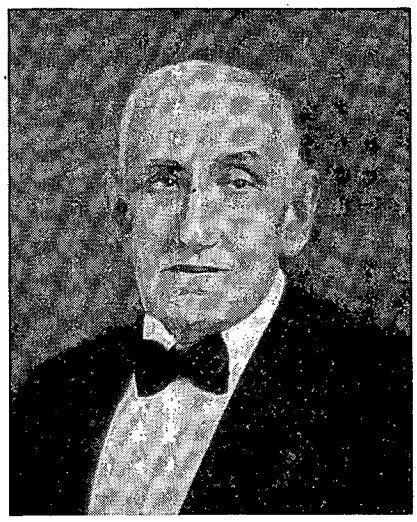
Mary E. Richmond



Simon N. Patten

Florence Kelley

dustrial standards as a means for democratic control in areas where government had not run before.

So there you have them; three of our great forbears, who were in their prime when Survey Associates was organized in 1912 and who, under the eclectic touch of Edward T. Devine, as editor, had been drawn into the working scheme from which we sprang. The stage has a phrase: Miss Richmond, Dr. Patten, Mrs. Kelley were "naturals." Inimitable, instigative, they built landing stages for our work ahead.

As things stand today, some of our highly trained social workers prize the opportunity afforded by private agencies which can limit intake. There they are not up against pressure groups nor subject to political investigations. We shall need the sheltered social practice of such agencies, just as we need undisturbed research in university laboratories, and social institutions where special nurture and experimental treatment can go forward. We shall look to them for scientific advances, for concentrated and individualized care, for independent criticism and demonstration.

More urgent, more of a break with old vocational patterns, there is the call for social workers to get out into the rough and tumble and, as staff members or executives, put the best that is in them into erecting the new public agencies. More often than not these prove stiff assignments to carry on under faulty laws, with conflicting orders from above, agitations from below and inveterate uncertainty as to funds. Through it all, to help stave off partisan raids that would make the developing work a nest for spoils; and to balk tendencies that would head it up in bulbous bureaucracies. At every floor level, federal, state, county, city, the challenge is much the same, not only to swing the work in hand efficiently, but to invest it with its social purpose.

WHAT we are experiencing are the growing pains of the most rapid expansion of American social work in its history. We know how organized health activities may spring enduringly from a vast and preventable epidemic. Just so, this expansion of social work has sprung from a vast and unprevented depression. It came out of the collapse of business controls and then of jobs and earning power; out of the stalemate of orthodox measures to mend matters; and then out of the rise of a venturesome administration at Washington with mandates first to do something about it, and then to do more.

Now some of the moves put forward in the names of relief, recovery and reconstruction were ours in the sense that social workers had worked for them long since; for minimum wages, for example, shorter hours and the prohibition of child labor; for child health services, old age pensions and public welfare departments to take the place of Elizabethan outdoor relief. There had been gains to show; but by and large war and boom years were adverse climate.

Here in the United States we were a generation behind other industrial nations in the social insurances. Dominant forces in public opinion damned the British "dole," just as other forces have blocked health insurance to date. The upshot was that the full brunt of the hard times came down on people least responsible for them, least able to protect themselves. For the new administration to do something about it through relief and work relief, and then to do more through unemployment compensation and old age benefits, meant crashing old mindsets and coming abreast of what had taken a quarter of a century to evolve overseas. Such an undertaking cannot lightly be minimized; for with us, also, it meant constitutional barriers to overcome, courts to convince or old decisions to get around, states rights to hurdle or compromise with. And today it means, in implementing the acts, tremendously greater areas and numbers to compass—with shortcomings to complicate them, improvisations that have yet to prove their worth.

Run back over the years [see page 146] and you will find how ideas that entered into some of these developments broke through; when early initiatives helped make them possible today; where organized movements flew their flag against the wind. And how and when and where social workers played parts in it all. There is need for their kind today if these new developments are not to be ditched by maladministration or lack of funds; if measures and services are to be tested on the basis of results, recast and improved; if we are to round out our conservation of life and rout out the frustration of our powers to sustain it.

This then is the third range of opportunity which opens out before American social workers, here and now. That opportunity comprehends us all; but it will call for new salients of instigation and leadership. We have responsible and creative contributions to make—or those case records are not worth the paper they are written on—because our work roots deep in what happens to America and Americans.

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Social Work and Politics

By WILLIAM HABER

IN May 1933 the federal government embarked upon an unprecedented course—granting funds to states for the care of needy unemployed. On November 16 of the same year the President summoned to the White House the state directors of relief and welfare agencies. There, in the presence of Harry L. Hopkins, the Federal Emergency Relief administrator, he told them in bold and unequivocal terms that this new venture of the federal government was to be outside the pale of political interference. Politics was proscribed! The politician was admonished that the usually prevailing techniques of patronage and all its concomitants were banned in dealing with human misery. "If anyone interferes with you," the President warned, in effect, "tell him the President of the United States says to keep his hands off."

"I want to tell you very, very simply that your national government is not trying to gain political advantage . . . out of the needs of human beings for relief," he said. "We expect the same spirit on the part of every governor of every one of the forty-eight states and on the part of every mayor and every county commissioner and of every relief agent." But further he wished it understood that "no person connected with the administration [of relief] will in any single case in any political subdivision of the United States ask whether a person needing relief or work is a Republican, Democrat, Socialist, or anything else." Again on February 2, 1934 the President told the forty-eight state directors of the National Emergency Council to be "absolutely hardboiled" in keeping politics out of the relief program "even if you have to hit the biggest political boss in the United States on the head."

"The proper administration of relief," he said, "is based on a conception that it is beyond politics or the local building up of a political machine or a party or personal machine."

Prior to these presidential pronouncements political interference with the administration of public relief was rampant in state and local units of government. The spoils system strangled relief agencies as effectively as other governmental functions. Merit systems for the selection of employes existed in few states and only a few large municipalities. The President's message enjoined the use of federal funds to expand the preserves of the spoils system.

This was a bold and auspicious beginning. The federal administrator and his aides took the warning seriously. Professionally trained workers, in most instances recruited from private agencies, were placed in positions of authority, assuming responsibility for the expenditure of hundreds of millions and later billions of dollars. Never before had social workers been catapulted into such responsible positions in public administration. Suddenly they found themselves compelled to assume leadership in interpreting matters of public finance, public relations, political relationships, personnel management, training and general administration. All of their professional tools, methods, techniques, and lore for the first time were exposed to public view. The social worker now lived in a glass house—a goldfish bowl. The specialized faculties and skills of the profession had lost their mystery and were subjected to a realistic scrutiny not as well informed as the profession hoped, and, perhaps over confidently, believed.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration and its state equivalents adhered to the Presidential policy. With relatively minor deflections in several states, the relief program was administered with little interference from the political operator. Local directors reaffirmed the policies announced by the federal leaders. State and local public welfare employes were barred from activities of a political character. "Continued employment of personnel," Aubrey Williams wrote to the state directors on August 20, 1934, "must be on the basis of qualifications and, in the case of relief recipients, actual need is the only factor to be considered." Both for public welfare and public administration these policies were an achievement of first magnitude. Compromises were made, of course, and serious deviations from the program were inevitable, depending on local factors and influences. But, by and large, in the early phases of federal relief a working truce was evolved between the functions of social worker and politician.

BUT this is by no means the whole story of public welfare administration since 1933. Social workers deal with the problems of maladjustment. Human beings are out of gear with their environment. The responsible forces—such as industrial collapse which creates unemployment—are usually beyond the control of the person involved. Or the forces may be quite personal in nature and express themselves in various forms of emotional and family difficulties. Whatever their causes or nature the social worker's approach is basically to make an objective diagnosis of the problem, with sympathy and understanding but also with scientific tools and methods. To that end social workers all along have insisted that the administration of social work be placed in the hands of persons who have specific training and experience; who can make objective investigations and diagnose the client's problem; who have the competence to make accurate records of observations; who can extend aid in the form, manner, and amount which not only will meet the immediate need of the client but will help rehabilitate him to normal relationships within his community.

Within the handicaps imposed by insufficient personnel often inadequately trained, uncertain funds, unprecedented demands, and recurring local political interference, social workers have had an unusual opportunity since 1933 to demonstrate their function. As state directors of welfare and relief, as local and county supervisors of the various assistance programs, they have provided the leadership during a crisis of unheard-of magnitude. They became the distributors of hundreds of millions of dollars, the employers of thousands of workers, from accountants to psychiatrists. They made the day to day decisions as to who should receive aid, and the amount and the form of such aid. No political organization in American history ever possessed such sinews with which to build a political or personal machine as did the social workers in the national, state, and local welfare departments during the FERA period.

Early in the federal relief program social workers came

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into sharp conflict with the politicians. The vigorous policy pursued by Mr. Hopkins and his aides resulted in many disputes with state political machines. In several places, such as Massachusetts and Georgia, the distribution of federal relief funds was completely removed from state control and made directly responsible to the federal administrator. In other states, of which Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania are good examples, frequent quarrels occurred with local officials, governors and legislatures. While many of these disputes arose out of controversies regarding the state's ability to appropriate relief funds, others had their origin in problems of a political character—the appointment of certain persons to welfare staffs, the making or withholding of relief grants to certain individuals, participation of public welfare workers in political campaigns.

Senators and Representatives, members of state legislatures, and mayors in dozens of cities questioned the social workers' competence to administer huge sums of public money. The basic issues in most cases were relatively simple. The political machine had overlooked a great patronage bonanza. Here were jobs, all kinds of jobs, at fair pay—more jobs than local and state officials had ever had at their disposal. And the politicos had nothing to do about distributing these jobs. In fact in 1933 and 1934, in many states, so literally was the attitude of the federal leadership interpreted that a political endorsement was apt to prove a definite liability.

There were of course many other reasons for unrest in the political bivouacs. But most of these reasons were really rationalizations intended to make a case, and a strong case could be made. Relief was more expensive than ever before; therefore, it was extravagant. The men and women who administered it were of a different breed from those who held other local government jobs; therefore, "young girls, inexperienced, just out of college" were dispensing great sums of public money. Some dependents were smarter liars than social workers were investigators; therefore, most of the people on relief were "chiselers." The dependent population was greater than ever in our history; therefore, the social workers were responsible for pauperizing the people. Of course, there were flagrant instances of administrative incompetence; therefore, public opinion reacted against the social workers in general.

The results were inevitable. Social workers were placed on the defensive. Their creed and technique never had been too well interpreted, anyhow. It was easy to blame them for the high cost of relief.

THIS reaction expressed itself variously. The employment of "outsiders" was frowned upon. Untrained local persons were therefore more desirable than available trained persons from another city. College graduates were regarded with suspicion. In Massachusetts the civil service law was so amended as to remove any requirement of college education for civil service positions. In other states weight was given to "business experience." Probably the most vindictive reaction to the social worker and his creed was the law passed by the Ohio legislature in January 1938, but fortunately vetoed. It provided that applicants for public aid must file "poverty affidavits" to be renewed every ninety days; relief rolls were to be published monthly in a newspaper of general circulation; cash relief was forbidden; food orders could not be delivered but must be called for in person; aid was barred to those who had not lived in the state for at least two years.

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Public Welfare

Listed by FRED K. HOEHLER
American Public Welfare Association

THE SCIENCE OF PUBLIC WELFARE, by Robert Kelso. Holt. 1928.

Because, to a public welfare director new to the field, it gave aid in determining programs and a bit of philosophy.

THE LONG VIEW, by Mary E. Richmond and Joanna C. Colcord. Russell Sage Foundation. 1930.

Because it is packed with a knowledge of people and how to work with them for a better order of things.

THE QUEST FOR SECURITY, by I. M. Rubinow. Holt. 1934.

Because from it I gathered philosophy and facts to support a new program in the United States.

THE SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, edited by Russell H. Kurtz. Russell Sage Foundation. Annually.

Because the series of volumes constitutes a veritable encyclopedia of social work.

STATE SURVEYS, published by various State Public Welfare Commissions.

Because they present a record of what is happening in public welfare administration together with realistic proposals for more adequate service.

1937 BOOK

THE ROLE OF POLITICS IN SOCIAL CHANGE, by Charles E. Merriam. New York University Press.

Because it states concisely the actual role of government in social affairs.

According to Ohio observers these harsh and inhuman provisions were deliberately intended to destroy many of the social workers' tenets: the confidential character of his relationship to the client, cash aid, no pauper oath, repeal of the settlement laws. In this way the politician thumbed his nose at the social worker.

Few states went so far as the Ohio legislature, but in others, also, the political machine reached out to recapture a lost empire. A few months ago in Pennsylvania, one of the leaders in the field of social work resigned his office rather than compromise with political control. In Illinois Governor Horner's Council on Public Assistance recommends that emphasis be "shifted from social service to business management" in the administration of relief funds. Colorado, with its "jack pot" old age assistance law, furnishes evidence of how political manipulators capitalize the needs of the aged. In Michigan, the last legislative session adopted the recommendation of the Governor's Welfare and Relief Study Commission, and enacted a public welfare program based on broad and sound conceptions of the needs of an industrial state. Politically entrenched individuals saw in this program a threat to their jobs and succeeded in delaying its effective operation by calling for a state-wide referendum next November. Elsewhere the conflict in method and ideals between the social worker and the politician has been expressed in legislation, administration, or changes in personnel.

Conflicts in the states and localities reverberate in Washington. The FERA was constantly under fire in an effort to protect its state directors against political forces which were trying to engulf them. Quarreling with politicians did not help the President. Compromise followed. In the

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next phase of public relief, the issue finally was disposed of by a requirement that the appointment of state WPA directors be confirmed by the United States Senate. The control over personnel was thus shifted from the administrator to the Senators and Representatives. There is little doubt that this provision in the act creating the WPA was intended primarily to weed out the group which had administered the state FERA programs, a group largely influenced by social work leadership and practices. The final step in this reversion is the provision in the social security act which restrains the Social Security Board from controlling the selection, tenure, and compensation of personnel in state assistance programs subsidized by federal funds.

Social workers thus have been bested in the conflict with the politicians. They did not build political fences of their own. They did not compromise, or not sufficiently. Frequently they were not deft in dealing with the political forces; nor did they cultivate sufficiently strong allies among the non-political public, capable of warding off the continued political attacks. With the removal of federal control over personnel, many state administrators succumbed to local political machines and to patronage control over personnel. In a few localities merit systems were established, but many of the gains made in 1933 and 1934 were lost.

THERE is obviously a broad area of conflict, but it is not clear whether it is between social work and politics or social workers and politicians. It is important to know, however, from which sources the differences arise, what adjustments can and need to be made in the realm of social work operations. Moreover, we need to enquire specifically upon which issues compromise is feasible, or even inevitable, and on which issues social workers must not yield, even if the battle appears momentarily a losing one.

The basic factor in the conflict arises from the fact that social work was once an obscure profession. In the last decade it has taken its place in the sun. It now represents a major activity of government. The social worker's field of operations is largely in the public welfare area. The problem is now a mass and not an individual problem. The nation appears committed to a program of providing protection for low income groups. The great risks of industrial America—life and health, jobs and income—are to be mitigated in part through social measures. The task of ministering to the needy, sick, handicapped, aged and jobless, is no longer the concern, primarily, of a small group who are the heavy contributors to private social agencies. It now has become the concern of the entire community; of all who pay taxes, of all who are interested in public finance, in governmental policies, yes, in politics. Social work has become a mass problem. It has drawn the attention of that expert in public relations—the politician. The vast sums involved, the large numbers who are employed in administration—these factors alone are sufficient to attract the politically-minded. All that a social worker has done in the past ten years and will do hereafter becomes a matter of public scrutiny.

It is natural, therefore, that the mysterious mechanisms of social service and individual case work developed in the protected private field now are exposed to examination by a public accustomed to former poor relief methods. The contrast is too sharp for enthusiastic endorsement. It is more than an academic question to inquire whether these mechanisms can stand up under the pressure of a questioning public opinion, political criticism, and the hard realities of our politically organized public service. No clear-cut answer is available, but there is enough evidence to indicate that something is wrong in the relationship between the social worker and the public.

The cause of this may be found in two or three factors. The first has to do with social work techniques; the second with the failure to interpret the job properly. In addition, it must be admitted that part of the conflict is quite inevitable and arises from the totally different conceptions and ideals entertained by the social worker and the politician.

The criticism of techniques has never been very clear. The training of social workers has been influenced unduly by the problems characteristic of large cities. Insufficient adjustments have been made to apply the technique to the small town and the rural area. Likewise, the case work methods originally developed for maladjusted cases have been applied with relatively little modification to unemployment relief. Social workers have been far more capable in pleading the needs of the relief clients than in the detailed process of administration. Some of them have been placed in charge of expenditures of vast sums of money and huge staffs without adequate administrative experience. Persons interested primarily in case work and social research have been thrust into positions calling for tested executive competence. Standards and practices established by social service directors in public agencies frequently have been "too high" in relation to local concepts of "minimum subsistence." "Intake policies" have often been more liberal than the community's ideas as to who "ought" to be given assistance. Personnel qualifications for the professional worker have been far in advance of what the community thought necessary.

More significant, however, have been the failures to interpret adequately the social work program and procedure to the community. The reliance upon federal and state financing and direction has removed the necessity of "carrying the community along." The social worker has not bothered to "sell" his views, professional method and program. Under federal administration with non-local financing, these programs, methods, and standards were often "imposed." Reliance on state and federal direction gave social workers a false sense of security. When these were relaxed or removed, the local community expressed its reaction—the political forces returned to control. The social worker must now begin to follow the direction of articulate community thinking, to gauge its force, and educate it in the profession's concept of a sound social work program.

"POLITICS" has an unsavory connotation. We associate with it conniving, manipulation, favoritism. We look upon politics merely as a system devised for securing partisan rewards. To it we attribute all the waste and inefficiency of public administration. However, politics has a function and purpose other than mere "interference." Politics and political parties are institutions basic to the American form of democratic government. Many issues and problems arising in the controversy between social work and politics are essentially political.

The area of operation of the social worker has expanded rapidly into the political field. Where once his work dealt primarily with personal maladjustments, now it includes practically every phase of social life, from correctional services, adult and juvenile probation, institutional administration, to the newer fields of public assistance and social security. While these involve basic social and economic

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problems, in a democracy political parties translate the problems—the people's wishes—to the state. These are subject to continual revision with changing social standards and public views.

The politician—the expert who is both the creator and the product of political parties—fears that the professional worker will preempt his prerogatives to interpret and control political questions. He fails completely to distinguish the process of administration from that of legislation or policy determination. To him, the social worker's insistence upon standards and training, is merely an effort to create a powerful bureaucracy.

He imagines the social worker is thereby creating a "political" machine of his own—not responsive to the legislature or to the people. He calls it the "social workers' racket." So thoroughly imbued is he with his own methods and psychology that he presumes all persons or groups, even those not in his own camp, are motivated solely by the idea of establishing job tenure.

The American politician does not recognize or accept the distinction between administration and legislation, but it is of growing importance. Whether we should have direct or work relief, whether federal aid should be extended to states, whether the means test should be used, what the standards of relief should be, whether relief should be through cash, commissaries, or orders—these are fundamentally problems of public policy and are political in character. In a democratic state the elected officials have a right to decide these questions. They translate into laws the voters' requirements. Political parties and political representatives are the traditional instruments for representing the citizen, the channels between the state and society.

From the viewpoint of the democratic process, therefore, an attitude of contempt on the part of social workers toward politics and politicians is extremely dangerous. To recoil from political intervention is to overlook the essential process of legislative and public policy-making mechanism.

THE very nature of democratic government requires that it change frequently in response to the people's will. Unless it can do so it ceases to be democratic. Government, therefore, as represented by political parties and elected officials, is highly unstable. While this flexibility of policy-making is essential, its effective administration, involving an ever-growing number of persons and social services, requires stability. Neither politicians nor social workers understand clearly this conflict between the necessity for responsiveness to changing social requirements and the need for stability in administration. This differentiation, has, however, been accepted and applied in other fields of governmental activity, particularly in public utility, labor and industrial legislation. There, broad authority has been given to administrative bodies to interpret the intent of legislative policy. For instance, the legislature says that every place of work "shall be safe." The administrative agency, however, and not the elected officials, interprets in the light of changing scientific knowledge what constitutes "safety" and lays down rules to insure the enforcement of the legislative intent.

In the field of social work this distinction is not yet fully accepted. Until it is, the politician will continue to regard the social worker as a trespasser, when in fact this professional worker is merely trying to provide the detailed interpretation of legislative policy. His major function is that of the expert, especially trained both in method and knowledge to be objective. His activities are directed toward the assembly of factual as well as qualitative information and the constructive execution of the legislative will. The social worker as an administrator is not in politics and should not be.

As a citizen, however, the social worker may, of course, have strong views as to the wisdom of political decisions. He should not compromise his right to express his views and that of his profession, as to the soundness of the legislation which he is to administer. As an expert, familiar with the plight of the underprivileged and recognizing basic social and industrial causes which account for it, he is well equipped to provide information and leadership.

There is no formula to bridge the chasm between social work and politics. Social workers must cease to hold politics and politicians suspect. They must realize that the democratic scheme gives an important place to political parties and to politics. At the same time, social workers must emphasize the fundamental distinction between the political process of legislation and policy making and the relatively technical process of administration. They must insist that the latter is essentially an expert function and that those who carry it on should get their jobs on the basis of what they know and not whom they know.

But at the same time, social workers must realize that the merit system alone is not the answer. In a technical sense both Ohio and Massachusetts operate under the merit system. The presence of such a law on the statute books is merely a beginning. An unsympathetic or resentful public or legislature can circumvent its operation if vigilance is

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Industrial Relations

Listed by ORDWAY TEAD

Society for Advancement of Management

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MANAGEMENT, by **Oliver Sheldon. Pitt-man. 1923.**

Because it gave a broad philosophic orientation as to the functional role in an industrial society.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY, **edited by Harlow S. Person. Harper. 1929.**

Because it gave a contemporary appraisal of the social significance of a scientific approach to urgent management problems.

HANDBOOK OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, **edited by W. J. Donald. McGraw-Hill. 1931.**

Because it assembled an encyclopedic amount of useful material on sound management procedure.

LABOR PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES, **by Carroll R. Daugherty. Houghton, Mifflin. 1933.**

Because it emphasized the relation of the manual worker to society under current capitalism.

1937 BOOK

MIDDLETOWN IN TRANSITION, **by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd. Harcourt, Brace.**

Because it offered in terms of one typical community a view of the effect of industrialism on American life.

[Added by The Editors]

PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION, **by Ordway Tead and Henry C. Metcalf. McGraw-Hill. Third Revision, 1933.**

Because it centers on "the real problems" of individual attitude, and economic and corporate organization underlying industrial relations.

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not constant. However, recent events suggest that the crusade for progressive revision of civil service standards can be carried on more effectively by non-professional persons and associations rather than by the social worker. But whoever leads the battle, there must be no compromise on this issue. For upon its eventual success depends not only the preservation of social work standards but good public administration and democracy itself.

Social workers need also to evaluate the methods of interpreting their job. While they may not succeed in convincing all local officials, the political attack cannot be met unless the ideals and methods of the social worker are understood. The community must itself come to insist on the professional standards of personnel, on the social gains which flow from the employment of the social work technique. To do so it is imperative that the basic tenets of the social worker's administrative creed be thoroughly re-appraised. Here compromises are possible, adjustments may be made. Standards should be re-valued in the light of more knowledge and of fresh problems.

How much needs to be done in social work education and training? The experience of recent years casts some doubt on the desirability of too specialized an educational program. Since social work today deals with broad social and economic issues, familiarity with public taxation, public administration, local and state government and economics are basic and must be included in the curricula of schools of social work.

No compromise can be made on the principle that public assistance is to be determined on the basis of need and need only. Political interference here must be resisted at all costs, because it is a vital threat to the very foundations of democratic organization.

Social workers must be political realists. They practice their profession in a world not of their own making. But they cannot resign from the world; they cannot withdraw from the public field on the theory that the obstacles in the path of a decent job are insurmountable. They cannot afford to run from a battle in which a vital sector depends on their courage and their skill.

Clients Aren't What They Used to Be

By CHARLES F. ERNST

THERE'S no use talking, the clients aren't what they used to be—not even eight years ago, let alone twenty-five. No longer can they be pigeonholed en masse as the "submerged tenth," the "underprivileged," "the poor we have always with us." They aren't having it that way, and they have learned the strength of numbers and the force of the positive approach. No longer do they supplicate for charity, pleading "worthiness" in their own behalf. Today they assert their rights as human beings and as members of the body politic—their worthiness is their own business. They have learned that the peremptory voice rings louder than the entreating voice.

Fortunately the clients are not the only ones who have come out of their pigeonholes. Their change in temper is no more marked than the change of the general public temper toward poverty and its treatment. The inability of a man to sustain himself and his family no longer is connected in some vague way with a fall from grace; the care of the poor no longer is a sort of home missionary enterprise to save as well as to succor. Admitting vestigial remains of the old tradition we, as a people, in this year 1938 A. D., hold poverty to be the result of economic, social and physical forces, of which the individual more often than not is the victim, less responsible for his plight than the society of which he is a part. When a good 15 percent of the population of a great nation is unable to sustain itself without assistance you can't write off their condition as the wages of individual sin.

As I see today's situation, it is not so much that the client has emerged from his pigeonhole as that the course of events and the rational thinking of all of us, the client included, have broken down the pigeonhole. He no longer represents a mass apart from the rest of us but an individual who because of some special condition—age, handicap or lack of a job—requires assistance. Be that as it may, whether the client came out of his pigeonhole or the pigeonhole broke down, he certainly is out and must be reckoned with in the terms of 1938.

The change in popular attitude did not come overnight. It was hastened of course by the economic breakdown which threw onto public assistance vast numbers of people who by no stretch of imagination could be described as "the poor." But the change in thinking already was under way, due in large part to the efforts of those agencies which for years had been endeavoring to apply to the problem of poverty the same scientific procedure which the medical profession had found effective in the field of health. As Robert A. Woods said, "They used the microscope and the telescope," the one in the laboratory, the other in the field, to learn if possible what was cause and what was effect. This spade work by private agencies was reflected in the establishment of the United States Children's Bureau in 1912. The private agencies had demonstrated on a limited scale the effectiveness of prevention and rehabilitation in dealing with individual families. The Children's Bureau extended the fundamentals of the program on a nation-wide basis.

AS we look back, we can see how the efforts of the bureau, reaching out to discover effects on individuals but pointing back to causes, made the country conscious of the need for preventive work on an individual basis. It has been leaven in the lump of our national thinking.

We had need of that leaven when the depression broke over us and mass unemployment revealed the inadequacies of our facilities for dealing with its human results.

Although the signs were clear and the prophets not infrequent we had been slow to see technological developments as a cause of the steadily rising curve of dependence in this country. The increase in mechanical and other skilled trades and the rising standard of living of those who followed them obscured our view of the decrease in unskilled jobs and in the odd jobs by which an unskilled man usually could support his family. The period of prosperity which raised the standard of large numbers of people and fortified their sense of independence broke down the narrow economic margin of many a man with little schooling and skill and

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sent him to "the relief." It was not a particularly new experience for him; he and his family seldom had known a time when their needs were filled with much ease or semblance of adequacy. The private relief agencies as a recourse in hard times were familiar to him.

These were the clients of eight years ago. The new clients, those who have hastened the change in our thinking and in our institutions, were the men, skilled and trained, who were thrust into economic helplessness at the height of their individual prosperity. Naturally they resisted giving up a way of life that included homes, automobiles and the latest mechanical contrivances. They needed help only because they were out of work, not because they were incompetent or guilty of some wrong-doing. They had no stomach for the old forms of charity—breadlines, soup kitchens, cast-off clothing—and they were quick to resent as injustice any effort to exploit them as objects of charity. As a group they were articulate and their attitude quickly communicated itself to the old clients, those who for years had been underemployed, unemployed or actually unemployable, relying in lean times on the grocer's credit book, the spare room back home, the occasional basket of groceries from the Ladies' Aid, the help of some private social agency.

When government entered into the "business of relief" it was to meet the immediate necessities of millions of people, many of whom never before had required assistance. With them were a great stream of those others for whom private agencies, churches, lodges and kinfolk no longer could provide. The stage was set for the leaders who were to preach that not only prompt and adequate assistance, but jobs, rehabilitation and prevention were the responsibility of government, that these things were the right of economically dislocated citizens.

The rise of the technique of organization among relief clients at first occasioned considerable bewilderment among old-line social workers accustomed to the docility of the old-line client. There can be no doubt however, that the pressures exerted by the organized unemployed, though they represented but a small fraction of the relief population, resulted in larger relief appropriations than would otherwise have been made. They resulted too in more adequate administrative provision for dealing with complaints and probably influenced public thinking to a measurable degree. In protest demonstrations, hunger marches, and work relief strikes the unemployed dramatized themselves as human beings. In a monograph, When Clients Organize (published by the American Public Welfare Association), Helen Seymour has traced the rise of these relief pressure groups, their leadership, and their motivation, and has appraised their impact on relief administration. Without exaggerating this impact she concludes that it points toward "the possibility of a relatively active and enduring client pressure movement."

TO those who have shared in organized labor's struggles for recognition, such a technique is understandable and acceptable. To those whose standard of living had been carefully built up and then wiped out, it is the logical answer. And to those who, because of old age, physical disability or for other reasons, had been dependent on family or community, it is a new and attractive idea holding the possibility of standards of assistance which many of them have never known.

The sheer size of the group dependent on public assistance gave it a strength of which it was wholly conscious. At the same time, that sheer size made it apparent that any proper treatment which took account of rehabilitation and prevention required that the group be broken down into its component human parts, with each part treated according to its needs. Here again action followed the course of experience as blazed by private and a few progressive public agencies. The popular mind was prepared for the work program and for the categories of the social security act which set up on a national scale provisions for the aged, the blind, dependent children and certain others.

The federal program "took the curse off relief" so far as the recipient was concerned. Work on WPA was "a real job," the President himself said so; assistance under the security services was a "pension." It was easy to forget the unpleasant "needs" basis for both jobs and assistance.

What the public generally had not anticipated, when it accepted the theory of categorical assistance, was the strengthening of the group consciousness of the people categorized by the system, and the competition among them that has resulted. There is reason for this competition. The difference in the amount and form of assistance as between one group and another is marked. Some must work, others need not; some get assistance based on one measure of need, others on another measure. These differences are acutely felt and have bound the members of each group together in a common purpose to protect and extend what they hold to be their rights. "Bigger and better" is the motto; organization, the technique.

As a general thing, our American communities have accepted the proposition that public assistance is a public re-

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Child Welfare

Listed by EDWIN D. SOLENBERGER

Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania

SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS, by Mary E. Richmond. Russell Sage Foundation. 1917.

Because it marked a new epoch in the development of principles and methods in social case work.

HOW FOSTER CHILDREN TURN OUT, by Sophie van S. Theis. New York State Charities Aid Association, 1924.

Because by its study and critical analysis of 910 placements after the children had grown up, it gave us our first factual answer to an important question.

GROWING UP, by Karl de Schweinitz. Macmillan. 1928.

Because it dealt intelligently and helpfully with a universal experience.

RECONSTRUCTING BEHAVIOR IN YOUTH, by William Healy and others. Knopf. 1929.

Because it set forth the interrelation of causal factors that need to be understood in the development of personality.

A CHANGING PSYCHOLOGY IN SOCIAL CASE WORK, by Virginia P. Robinson. University of North Carolina Press. 1931.

Because it marks an important milestone in case work theory and practice.

1937 BOOK

THE RELATION OF FUNCTION TO PROCESS IN SOCIAL CASE WORK: A SYMPOSIUM. The Journal of Social Work Process, Vol. I, No. 1. Pennsylvania School of Social Work.

Because it presented a specific approach to the art of helping that should be provocative for the children's field.

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sponsibility, but in the discharge of that responsibility they cling to what they consider good public welfare practice. The individual, however, deep in his personal problems and fortified by group consciousness, does not always see this practice as consonant with his "rights." The group pressure to which he resorts results in a sort of borrowing from Peter to pay Paul, satisfying the stronger pressure at the expense of the weaker. But as I see it the difference between the community and the pressure group attitude is more in approach than in objective. Both actually point in the same direction, toward some measure of assured economic security for the individual. Undoubtedly we have a leveling-off process still ahead of us, with a candid appraisal of the proposition that public assistance is something not to be prayed for but to be demanded as a right.

The cohesion of clients in the several categories into active pressure groups is reflected in the legislative trends of the country, particularly in relation to old age assistance. Here the hopes and emotions of the Townsend Clubs have been translated largely into a drive for more generous allowances on a wider base of eligibility. In some of the western states, for example, where such movements have been strongest, legislation has created a standard of old age assistance which is not only higher than that in other parts of the country but higher than that of any other group in the same community. These states have in their population a large proportion of unattached old people, residue of the seasonal labor that developed their lumbering, fishing and agricultural enterprises. With ties of kindred long since broken, and lacking the support of adult children, they naturally look to old age assistance as their one hope of warding off the poor house. Given their history and that of the labor movement in these states it is altogether logical that they should see organization as the effective means of getting and keeping the highest obtainable level of assistance. It follows that since public laws determine the characteristics of this assistance its level can be influenced by political action. Every candidate for public office in these states has found it to his advantage of late years to have in his platform at least one plank dealing with old age assistance.

THE political pressure tactic grows by what it feeds on. The success of an effort in one state or county brings a rash of similar efforts in others. Take the case of Colorado, for example, where a constitutional amendment fixes a level of old age payments which lays such a heavy charge on state financial resources as to threaten the breakdown of many other services. The proponents of bigger and better pensions point to the Colorado standard as the fruit of organization and pressure, and today in half a dozen or so states [see *Survey Midmonthly*, April 1938, page 115] petitions are circulating to initiate constitutional amendments which would fix old age pensions at a high level, virtually taking them out of the control of legislative or administrative bodies. And do not think for a moment that these petitions, however fantastic, will lack signatures.

What will be the ultimate result of the new concept that a measure of security belongs to everyone and must be underwritten by some form of public assistance, be it through insurance, work or direct relief?

Right or wrong, the effect of this new conception of society's responsibility for its members has created a demand far beyond the capacity to obtain necessary revenue through existing tax devices. The inevitable attempt to rob Peter to pay Paul quickly brings the supporters of longer established governmental services to their defense against attempted raids by the supporters of these newer interests. The old-line taxpayers who for years resisted imposts for roads, schools, and the like now are joined by those who favor such things but oppose these new government grants. These two groups seem to be gaining recruits from those who advocated a program of assistance but who now are turning from it in disillusionment at the inability to satisfy people who have made it clear that the more they get the more they want.

There are many signs of growing public reaction to the increasing pressures of the organized and articulate client groups. Undoubtedly the program, particularly in the western states, has moved too rapidly if not too far and it is inevitable that, because the states themselves and possibly the federal government will be unable to finance their respective parts, it will bog down of its own topheaviness.

Some day, I am confident, this fight back and forth over public assistance as the guarantor of security will retire backstage and the chief characteristic of security again will emerge in the form of our early American hero—self-reliance. The job, as it relates to economic security, more than ever will be the cornerstone on which man's social security will be built, and the efforts of the community will be directed to strengthening the man for the job and the job for the man. We know now that along with individual needs of health and education there is need to train youth for the kind of jobs that are inherent in the development of the community and its natural resources. Public assistance, either as a right or as a privilege, is not the answer to the problem of security for the oncoming generation, as many of the disillusioned older generation have discovered.

1912 — SIX SIGNIFICANT BOOKS — 1937

Family Case Work

Listed by LINTON B. SWIFT

Family Welfare Association of America

SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS, by Mary E. Richmond. Russell Sage Foundation. 1917.

Because it was the first noteworthy attempt to orient case work as a genuine discipline in treating the problems of individual human relationships.

WHAT IS SOCIAL CASE WORK? by Mary E. Richmond. Russell Sage Foundation. 1922.

Because it is a basic interpretation of social case work.

SOCIAL CASE WORK, GENERIC AND SPECIFIC: The Report of the Milford Conference. American Association of Social Workers. 1929.

Because it was the first major attempt to visualize social case work as a generic approach.

SOME ASPECTS OF RELIEF, by Grace Marcus. Charity Organization Society. 1929.

Because it helped make social case work more articulate on the significance of relief in our practice and to our clients.

A CHANGING PSYCHOLOGY IN SOCIAL CASE WORK, by Virginia Robinson. University of North Carolina Press. 1931.

Because of its challenge to case workers in the exploration of the relationship between the case worker and the client.

1937 BOOK

CASTE AND CLASH IN A SOUTHERN TOWN, by John Dollard. Yale University Press.

Because it is a study of social conflict by a man who realized that he had first to analyze his own attitudes.

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The vast majority of the people of this country still have jobs and the self-reliance that goes with them. To a greater or less extent they have the answer to the "right" to economic security. The "right" of those who now demand relief is the "right" to get on the conveyor which leads to the job. This certainly is a right, the demand for which can properly be made upon our society as a whole. As a nation, state by state, community by community, we shall be wise to the extent that we make such provision for health, education, vocational training and similar opportunities for individual development as will make it possible for all our citizens to enjoy that "right."

What we need today is not less articulation of the "rights" of the clients but a type of leadership that will direct this sense of "right" into channels more beneficial and more adequate than public assistance ever can be.

And It Came to Pass

By THOMAS D. ELIOT

IN the year of our Lord 1929, being the fifty-sixth year of the life of Noah of the House of Charities and Corrections, in the tenth month, on the twenty-ninth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great economic life broken up, and the windows of chaos were opened in the firmament.

And the rain of depression was upon the earth ten months and ten days.

And the self-same year there entered into the Ark of Professional Standards, Noah of the House of Charities, Survey his wife and their three daughters, National Conference of Social Work, American Association of Social Workers and Family Welfare Association of America.

And with them, one by one, entered also flappers, pelicans, neurotics, spinsters, widows, postgraduate mothers, unemployed, rank and file, practitioners, job-getters, has-beens, hope-to-bes, van cliquers, princesses, saints, and those with 300 credit hours of sacred contact magic in supervised family social case work. Every bird of every sort, each according to its kind and some in a class by themselves.

And they went in unto Noah into the Ark, one by one, a sisterhood of all flesh; and they shut out the newspapers and politicians, taxpayers and Babbitts and unbaptized administrators. And on the waters thereabout rose waves of impatience and irritation.

And the flood was upon the earth four years and four months; and the waters increased, and raised up into responsible administrative positions salesmen and playground directors, case workers and settlement workers who never before had dealt with either dollars or human beings in more than four columns of figures.

And the waters prevailed, and impatience and irritation grew apace and the public wanted to get on board, but the sisterhood defended the Ark of Professional Standards, and the Ark went out upon the face of the waters.

And the leadership of the permanent high hills of community organization was covered.

And it came to pass at the end of five years and eight months, that Noah Charities peeped out of the Ark of Professional Standards which he had made to rescue social case work from the floods of depression and the attacks of ward committeemen.

And there went forth a raven to and fro, to see if the floods of depression were abated; but the raven found no rest for the sole of his foot and returned a message to Survey, the wife of Noah, in the middle of the sixth month of the year 1935, to the effect that it long had been obvious to all save those who dwelt in the Ark that case work technique and small-bore pumps, suited to the pre-flood era, were unfitted for rescuing great numbers of normal families adrift in the flood, and for maintaining public support and understanding under flood conditions. And the raven's croak was unheard by the inmates of the Ark.

And Noah Charities, his wife, Survey, and their three daughters and all of the sisterhood stayed yet two years more in the Ark of Professional Standards. And the mountain tops of community leadership re-emerged and there was an outcry against the sisterhood that had let down community leadership into the flood without recognition of its capacity for saving able-bodied swimmers.

And again Noah Charities sent forth a dove out of the Ark, and the dove came back unto him in the evening, and returned a message that Mount Ohio would refuse the Ark a place to land, and that Mount Illinois, and many other Mounts were fed up on their fish-eye view of the Ark's bottom.

AND the dove brought also an olive branch to the Ark from some Ararat where a half-forgotten child of Noah Charities had been wise to herself, had kept close to the public through all the years of the flood, and, as the waters receded, had adapted herself and her techniques to the new conditions of public welfare administration. But the dove was pigeonholed in the Ark.

And in the midst of the second month, of the ninth year, eight years and eight weeks after the crash and the beginning of the tide of public criticism, Survey, the wife of Noah Charities, looked up from nursing the new baby, Security Service, and, picking one of the offspring of the stowaway Eye-Opener out of her hair, peeked out of the Midmonthly editorial window on pages 45, 46, 47, 48 and 58 and suddenly spied the Mount Ohio reef-line, and the breakers of criticism threatening the Ark. And she said:

"Why, children, I believe it's been raining! You are all wet. You should have brought your publicity umbrellas and your interpretive galoshes!" And she went back to Baileying out the Ark.

And the dove and the raven went forth, leaving the Ark to the sisterhood. And the dove and the raven came down to earth, and were seen no more.

And the Ark of Professional Standards ran aground, and the proliferating practitioners made haste to leave the ship. But the floods had abated and the sisterhood was rescued by Community Chest, the cousin of Noah Charities, twice removed. And the Ark was saved.

And behold, Noah and his daughters and all the sisterhood raised an altar to professional pride and sacrificed thereon, each according to her kind. But case work techniques and passive therapy were not sacrificed.

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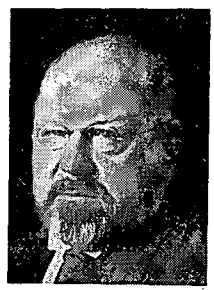
THE SOCIAL FRONT OF 25 YEARS

1913

January First public conference on mental hygiene at University of City of New York, planned by the Committee on Mental Hygiene of the New York State Charities Aid Association.



ALEXANDER JOHNSON

Alexander Johnson resigns as secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction to become head of the new extension department of the Training School for the Feeble-Minded, at Vineland, N. J.

The Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania is organized to "bring order out of chaos" in state institutions and to "eliminate politics from the state's charities."

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce recommends the establishment of a Federation for Charity and Philanthropy, "a large scale experiment in good will and charitable giving."

February Fifteen state legislatures consider "mothers' pension" bills. Mary E. Richmond of the Russell Sage Foundation urges "make haste slowly," on the basis of "more facts and more deliberation."

"Two movements are on foot to get the medical schools to give instruction in industrial hygiene."

March Chicago reports on first test by informal board for position of chief probation officer. Joel D. Hunter of Chicago Commons tops the list.

The American Association for Labor Legislation forms a new Committee on Social Insurance, Edward T. Devine, chairman.

April Oregon passes a minimum wage law for women and children, the first to have a compulsory clause.

"If the peace societies are really in earnest why are they so slow in joining hands and hearts with the vast hosts of labor throughout the world—the unionists, socialists, syndicalists and all the rest, who constitute at this moment the one really serious menace to the supremacy of the war lords?"—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, **Church of the Messiah, N. Y.**

The St. Louis School of Social Economy becomes a department of Washington University.

Tennessee passes a state-wide compulsory school attendance law.

"That the private charitable societies of Boston oppose the plan to transfer to the state the care of deserving widows with dependent children as an independent class is indicated by the hearings on the various bills now before the Massachusetts legislature."

As Recorded in The Survey

May The Rockefeller Foundation chartered for the purpose of "promoting the well-being of mankind throughout the world." Original endowment about $183 million.

The Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations, New York, with the cooperation of the New York School of Philanthropy and the Russell Sage Foundation, establishes a department for social workers.

The first woman judge of delinquent girls, Mary M. Bartelme, lawyer, sits on the bench of the Chicago Juvenile Court.

June First American Conference on Social Insurance held in Chicago.

The New York School of Philanthropy announces a new department with courses on "the biological, physiological, sociological, pedagogical and economic significance of play."

July Bill in Congress, sponsored by the Progressive Party, to create a federal commission on social insurance.

August Conference at Church of the Ascension, N. Y. to discuss: When should social workers go into politics? . . . Is social work a substitute for economic justice? Speakers: John Collier, Graham Romeyn Taylor, Frances Perkins, Benjamin C. Marsh, Judge Julian M. Mack and others.

First annual meeting of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing. Lillian D. Wald, president.

ALLEN T. BURNS

September Senate confirms President Woodrow Wilson's appointment of Industrial Relations Commission, Frank P. Walsh, chairman; an outgrowth of a movement initiated two years earlier by a group of social workers, among them Edward T. Devine, Jane Addams, Allen T. Burns, Paul Kellogg.

"The usefulness of the motion picture in education is furthered by an invention which does away with the flicker and so avoids eyestrain."

National Federation of Settlements formed in 1911, holds its first conference in Pittsburgh. Mary E. McDowell, Chicago, elected president.

October Two visiting teachers appointed by the Board of Education begin work in the New York City schools, "one of the most important steps toward socializing the schools ever undertaken by a board of education."

November National Vocational Guidance Association organized. Frank M. Leavitt, University of Chicago, president.

Massachusetts held the first city and town planning conference ever held in America under the auspices of the state government.

December "A plan to use public money in the erection of sanitary dwellings of low rental for unskilled wage earners in the nation's capital is proposed by Edith Elmer Wood."

1914

January The newly formed American Society for the Control of Cancer warns the public that the new radium treatment does not promise a sure cure.

February A bureau of social welfare has been organized in the extension division of the University of Iowa to gather and disseminate information on social conditions.

Lynchings in the United States reached an all time low in 1913—fifty-two persons, all Negroes but one, were put to death by mobs.

March Congress considers "a bill to establish national farm-land banks" as a measure of relief to agriculture.

Two hundred delegates from twenty-five states attending in New York first National Conference on Unemployment, recommend to American Association for Labor Legislation "thorough investigation of problem of unemployment and initiation and promotion of public action."

For the first time the subject of teaching sex hygiene in public schools was on the program of the National Council of Education and the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association.

April Old age pensions broached in the Canadian House of Commons but shelved because "there was no great body of pronounced sentiment calling for action."

Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy reports a gain of 69 percent to philanthropic agencies in the first year of "cooperative collection."

AMELIA SEARS

Cook County, Illinois, establishes a bureau of public welfare, appropriates $10,000 for its maintenance and appoints Amelia Sears as director.

First social service congress of Canada held; object, "to arouse interest and enlist all Canadians in behalf of social righteousness with the purpose of improving social, economic and ethical conditions."

May Jacob A. Riis dies.

Boston University appoints Meyer Bloomfield to its new professorship of vocational guidance, first in the country.

First convention of mental hygiene societies held in Baltimore.

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The Federal Industrial Relations Commission proposes a country-wide system of employment bureaus in charge of a national bureau in Washington.

Delegates from nineteen cities organize the Pennsylvania Housing Association, electing Samuel S. Fels president.

June National Women's Trade Union League establishes training school for organizers, first of its kind.

July Federal commission recommends establishment of Federal Board of Vocational Education to work with states.

August The World War begins.

United States Civil Service Commission announces examination for sixty-one positions in the Children's Bureau, first government recognition of social work as a profession.

St. Louis inaugurates new experiment in public recreation—free motion pictures in public parks.

Twelve hundred women, led by Mrs. Henry Villard and Lillian D. Wald march in New York in protest against war.

LILLIAN D. WALD

September Conference at Henry Street Settlement from which grew the American Union Against Militarism, Lillian D. Wald, chairman.

Steamship "Red Cross" sails for Europe with thirty physicians and 125 nurses for service in warring countries.

October Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, announces a new department of social service to train young women for positions, paid or unpaid, in social welfare organizations.

December The New York State Factory Investigating Committee, after a two-year study of low paid workers, proposes a minimum wage law and vocational training.

1915

For Some Must Watch, While . . .

The golf links lie so near the mill
That almost every day
The laboring children can look out
And watch the men at play.

SARAH N. CLEGHORN, *written from Camden, S.C. First published in FPA'S Conning Tower, New York Tribune.*

January American Woman's Peace Party organized at Washington conference. Jane Addams, president.

April After a long and bitter fight New York state passes bill for widows' pensions administered by child welfare boards.

North Carolina the first state to combine several county almshouses into a single district institution.

JANE ADDAMS

International Congress of Women, Jane Addams, president, meets at The Hague with delegates from all warring countries except France and Russia.

May A Committee of One Hundred, meeting in Chicago, proposes the establishment of a world court "as soon as this war ends."

June Dr. C.-E. A. Winslow of the New York State Department of Health called to the new professorship of public health at the Yale medical school.

September William Sanger of New York sentenced to jail for having given away a single copy of Margaret Sanger's pamphlet on birth control, Family Limitation.

October The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey adopts the eight-hour day for all its plants.

November Booker T. Washington dies.

PREPAREDNESS

Tune: Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines

I'm Captain Jingo, U.S.A.
I feed my crew on "pork" and bray,
And I whoop it up, "Prepare and pay
For a great American army."

I'll teach the youngsters how to shoot,
The kids to toot, the girls salute,
I'll scare the people till they root
For a great American army.

I'll work the powder mills all night,
I'll hitch their profits to a kite,
And pretty soon I'll order: "Fight,"
With my great American army.

A.P.K. *(Arthur Kellogg)*

December Henry Ford's peace ship sails for Europe to "get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas."

The American Red Cross moves to reorganize on military-civilian lines.

First American old age pension law passed by Alaska.

1916

January Louis D. Brandeis nominated by President Wilson for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

February **"The new fashion of naming state societies of social workers with some variation of the term 'social welfare' has not been followed by the Vermont Conference of Charities and Correction."**

March Bills providing for compulsory health insurance have been introduced in New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts.

April At congressional hearing on bill to create a commission to investigate unemployment and social insurance only witness in opposition was Samuel Gompers, president of AF of L.

May *The Survey* initiates a new editorial department, Social Insurance.

June President Wilson signs the National Defense Act.

International Health Board announces an institute of hygiene and public health at Johns Hopkins University, thereby "confirming the public health officer's work as a profession."

Bill in Congress to create a women's division in the Department of Labor.

July **"The dominant note in many of the medical conventions this spring has been health insurance."**

The first American Congress on Child Welfare held in Buenos Aires.

August Financed by the Rockefeller Foundation a new psychiatric service begins a five-year demonstration at Sing Sing Prison.

Newly organized Ohio Old Age Pension League will initiate legislation.

Congress passes the federal child labor bill.

September President Wilson signs federal workmen's compensation bill.

HARVEY H. BAKER

December **"Organized education must be ready to make use of the free years of childhood which child labor laws are wresting from premature work."**

Judge Baker Foundation established in Boston as a continuing memorial to the life and work of Harvey H. Baker, judge of the Boston Juvenile Court.

1917

January The General Education Board announces that it will provide Teachers College, New York, with funds necessary "to establish and conduct a school for the purpose of constructive work in the reorganization of elementary and secondary education . . . better adapted to the needs of modern life."

"Agitation in favor of universal compulsory military training has made great gains in Congress."

After a twenty-year fight and over President Wilson's veto, Congress passes bill requiring literacy test of immigrants.

February Tom Mooney found guilty of bombing San Francisco's preparedness parade on July 22, 1916 and sentenced to hang.

The Red Cross hastens its efforts to organize and equip base hospitals for the care of sick and wounded soldiers.

"The appeal for 'no war without a referendum' has received tremendous response."

March **"Social legislation had but scant attention from the sixty-fourth Congress. It was almost a war session and problems of social and industrial justice could fare but indifferently well."**

April Congress declares state of war with German imperial government, "to make the world safe for democracy."

The Red Cross announces its intention to meet the needs of families of soldiers and sailors. The New York School of Philanthropy will train volunteers for this service.

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Congress adopts the draft as against the volunteer plan for recruiting army.

June National Conference of Charities and Correction changes its name to National Conference of Social Work.

Red Cross relief fund of $100 million oversubscribed by $14 million.

August Eight thousand colored men, women and children march in New York in protest against "discrimination and oppression."

JULIAN W. MACK

Congress has bill, drafted by Judge Julian W. Mack, to provide life insurance and compensation for men killed, injured or made sick in the federal service and allowances for their families.

National Social Workers Exchange opens offices, outgrowth of social work department of Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations.

September President Wilson signs the eight-hour bill for railroad employes.

October J. McKeen Cattell and H. W. L. Dana dismissed by Columbia University on account of "their public agitation against the conduct of the war." Prof. Charles A. Beard, pro-war liberal, resigns in protest.

The Julius Rosenwald Fund established in Chicago.

November First congress, held in New York, of the League of Small and Subject Nationalities.

U.S. Supreme Court decision voids as unconstitutional the residential segregation ordinance of Louisville, Ky.

PORTER R. LEE

December Edward T. Devine resigns as director of New York School of Philanthropy to continue Red Cross work in Paris. Porter R. Lee succeeds him.

Congress passes constitutional amendment on prohibition giving states seven years to ratify. "Prohibition is now only a matter of time."

1918

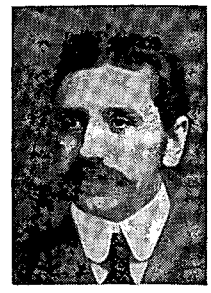
June The Supreme Court declares the federal child labor law unconstitutional and invalid.

September Congress enacts a minimum wage law for women and minors in the District of Columbia.

October The Commonwealth Fund established with a gift of $10 million by Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness of New York.

November The Armistice.

"The war is won. Under what device can we consolidate its gains, eliminate its evils, capitalize for the program appropriate to peace the social enthusiasms which it has generated?—EDWARD T. DEVINE.



EDWARD T. DEVINE

Conference on demobilization, called by *The Survey*, Dr. Felix Adler chairman, to consider the conservation of wartime standards and the elements of a reconstruction program.

1919

January Prohibition amendment ratified by necessary number of states. "We go dry."

February Dr. Livingston Farrand heads the American Red Cross and begins the process of its transition to a peace basis.

April New York School of Philanthropy changes its name to New York School of Social Work.

May U.S. Children's Bureau sponsors International Conference on Child Welfare Standards.

The American Association for Organized Charity, Francis H. McLean director, expands its program and changes its name to American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. (Now Family Welfare Association of America.)

June Smith College announces a training school for social work "as its contribution to the program of social reconstruction."

Peace of Versailles signed.

September New School for Social Research opens in New York.

October The General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation announces a gift of $20 million "for the improvement of medical education."

November International Labor Conference convenes in Washington, first of the international congresses created through the agency of the League of Nations.

December The National Consumers' League adopts a ten-year campaign program for "labor legislation, food standards, honest cloth, industrial hygiene, health insurance and the minimum wage."

An industrial conference to consider labor relations, convened by President Wilson in Washington.

1920

January League of Nations officially inaugurated.

The American Red Cross announces that the central feature of its peacetime program is to be in the field of public health.

American Civil Liberties Union organized, Roger N. Baldwin director.

April National Conference of Social Work met in New Orleans. "One felt the return to pre-war days with their emphasis on technique and on experiences recounted in detail; with their debates over the relative merits of evolutionary processes or coercive measures in trying to bring social service up to higher standards and secure professional recognition."

May Congress has a bill "substantially on the lines recommended by the American Legion" for "adjusted compensation" for men who served in the World War.

Congress adopts a compulsory contributory old age and disability insurance system for federal employes.

August The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, founded by Graham Taylor in 1903, becomes the Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.

GRAHAM TAYLOR

October Child Welfare League of America organized, C. C. Carstens of Boston director.

December International Ladies Garment Workers Union opens its own health center, the first union in the country to offer this service to its members. Dr. George M. Price, medical director.

1921

April The California legislature has a bill representing the first attempt to define social work and social workers by law.

June Bryn Mawr College opens new Summer School for Women Workers in Industry.

A committee, Evart G. Routzahn, chairman, formed at the National Conference of Social Work to develop better methods of publicity for social work.

July A new organization, the American Association of Social Workers, is formed out of the National Social Workers Exchange.

August Grace Abbott succeeds Julia C. Lathrop as chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau.

The Rockefeller Foundation gives Harvard University $1,785,000 for a new school of public health.

October The first National Conference on Unemployment, led by Secretary of Commerce Hoover, adopts an emergency relief program. ". . . primarily a community problem. The responsibility for leadership is with the mayors. . . ."

The Carnegie Corporation opens a library in Atlanta for the exclusive use of Negroes.

White-Williams Foundation, Philadelphia, offers first training course for visiting teachers.

First issue of *Survey Graphic*.

November First American Conference on Birth Control broken up by New York police.

Sheppard-Towner act appropriates funds for federal-state cooperation "in promoting the care of maternity and infancy."

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Harmon Foundation established.

December The Commonwealth Fund in cooperation with other agencies announces a broad five-year program in methods of preventing juvenile delinquency.

1922

February **"The spirit of coordination which has prevailed in so many fields since the war is especially evident among voluntary public health agencies."**

March Sanford Bates, Massachusetts state commissioner of corrections, makes a beginning, a series of lectures, in training prison officers.

April Cornell University's new "pay clinic" in New York vigorously attacked by six medical societies of state as "socialistic" and "pauperizing."

June Topic of National Conference of Social Work, "The Changing Fundamentals of Social Work."

National Civil Service Reform League opens Washington office "to prevent sudden inroads on the merit system."

July First international conference of settlements held in London.

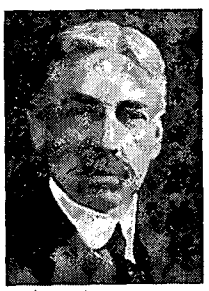
August Bureau of Home Economics created in the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

November Under a new plan *The Survey*, a weekly with a monthly graphic issue, becomes a semi-monthly publication, *Survey Graphic* and *Survey Midmonthly*.

December The new Congress considers a child labor amendment to the constitution.

1923

May The Supreme Court holds unconstitutional the minimum wage law for women and minors in the District of Columbia.



HOMER FOLKS

National Conference of Social Work celebrates its fiftieth anniversary, many foreign delegates contributing an international flavor. Homer Folks' presidential address, Prevention Succeeds.

June The report of the department of research and education of the Federal Council of Churches on its study of the twelve-hour day in the steel industry, urges the feasibility of the eight-hour day.

August The Iron and Steel Institute reverses its previous stand and calls for the elimination of the twelve-hour day in the steel industry.

December ***". . . the problem par excellence of the next fifty years. The problem of what lies back of the attitude of the individual; how these attitudinal walls may be scaled, or better, broken and the energies of the individual set free to rational intelligent use."***—FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS, M.D.

During the year bills for old age pensions in one form or another were introduced in twenty-four state legislatures.

1924

May New quota immigration bill enacted—"the beginning of a new American immigration policy."

June Congress passes the Federal Child Labor Amendment.

December The National Social Work Council is organized, David H. Holbrook, secretary.

The Duke Endowment with assets of about $40 million established by James B. Duke of North Carolina.

1925

March After a ten-year legislative campaign probation is extended to the federal courts.

October First national conference on modern parenthood held in New York under auspices of Child Study Federation of America.

First national conference on adult education held in Cleveland "looking toward the formal organization of an association for adult education."

"The community chest is coming into maturity."

1926

February The Massachusetts Commission on Old Age Pensions agrees on "a state of need" but fails to agree on recommendations.

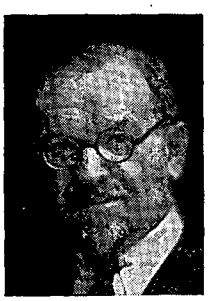
American Association for Community Organization, appoints Allen T. Burns director to further community chest work.

May At the National Conference of Social Work in Cleveland "the crest of the scientific advances in experimental psychology and psychiatry swept in. . . . The drama of peoples' insides rather than the pageantry of their group contacts and needs was foremost."

Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation, established with $5 million by Mrs. Walter G. Ladd, will be more interested in the "architecture of ideas than in the architecture of buildings and laboratories."

"While little has been achieved in the domain of social organization in this country during the past ten years much has been accomplished by the emphasis on the individual and a resulting effort to understand him. . . . A somewhat discouraging aspect of the situation is the comparative inertia of the profession of social work with regard to the legislative movement as compared with the very substantial support compensation was receiving from social workers in 1911, and health insurance in 1916. . . . There is at this moment no very active movement for social insurance. . . ."

—I. M. RUBINOW.



I. M. RUBINOW

September Training School for Jewish Social Work opened in New York, Maurice J. Karpf, director.

November The Harmon Foundation puts forward a plan for pensions for nurses.

1927

April The American Association for Old Age Security, Abraham Epstein, director, organized to further national interest in old age legislation. (Now the American Association for Social Security.)

May Committee on Cost of Medical Care, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, chairman, undertakes a five-year study of the economic factors affecting the organization of medicine.

The psychiatrists' approach to family casework presented by Dr. Frankwood Williams engages much attention at the National Conference of Social Work. "The psychiatrist sees the family chiefly as a set of emotional relationships."

June The will of Henry Buhl, Jr., of Pittsburgh set aside about $12 million to establish the Buhl Foundation.

October Conference on Family Life in Buffalo, home of the first Charity Organization Society in the United States, celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the family welfare movement in this country.

December Three related institutions reorganize as the Brookings Institution, for advanced research in national political and economic problems.

1928

February Citizens Conference on Community Welfare in Washington marks rapid rise of laymen's interest in community chest movement.

March In the face of many evidences of high prosperity "the threads that shuttle through *The Survey* office have been weaving an unexpected picture of nation-wide unemployment . . . a real crisis."

April The National Federation of Settlements appoints a committee, Helen Hall, chairman, to study unemployment and its consequences in households, neighborhoods and communities.

July First International Conference of Social Work in Paris, July 8-13.

October A labor policy for a modern Christian church is submitted to the general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

November ***"We have no wide flung system of insuring old age care and support . . . but we are beginning to learn that our private and public patchwork is woefully inadequate and becoming more so."***—**WILLIAM H. MATTHEWS, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.**

1929

January The Association of Community Chests and Councils undertakes a study of its "most acute problem," local contributions by national corporations.

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March ***"Men and women all over the state and all over the country have shared the belief that it is possible so to modify our social and economic institutions as to make possible good lives for those in our great machine-like community who cannot govern and control their own situations. I take it for granted we are all committed to the thought that through such modification of these institutions there comes social progress for us all, to the end that modern industry shall bear down kindly and not bitterly upon those who serve its interests."*** **—FRANCES PERKINS, New York State Industrial Commissioner.**

FRANCES PERKINS

"The recent seminar at Columbia University dealing with the relations of Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the community and in the country was at least a significant experiment."

April *Survey Graphic's* special issue, Unemployment and the Ways Out, "seeks to help clear the way for a new working concept of modern unemployment as a needless and controllable by-product of industrial progress."

Senator James B. Couzens establishes Michigan Children's Fund with $10 million.

May President Hoover appoints a national commission, George W. Wickersham, chairman, to study law enforcement and observance.

June **"The rising tide of relief which has strained the budgets of family welfare societies for several years past, reached a still higher mark during last winter and spring."**

November ***"Leadership in social progress cannot be achieved [by social workers] by remaining aloof from political activity."*** **—WILLIAM HODSON, New York.**

December Research Committee on Social Trends, Wesley C. Mitchell, chairman, appointed by President Hoover.

1930

January "The Cost of Health . . . How Shall the Doctor Be Paid . . . Adequate Medical Care for Everyman." Special Issue *Survey Graphic*.

California makes an actual start paying old age allowances.

March Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York appoints a state committee on employment planning, first of its kind.

April Business and social agencies all over the country report efforts "to organize a community front on unemployment."

May New York State adopts a system of old age assistance "clearly one of outdoor relief, not pensions properly speaking."

First International Congress on Mental Hygiene held in Washington May 5-10.

June American Association of Public Welfare Officials organized (now American Public Welfare Association).

"With the mind of the practicing social worker attuned to the economic implications of the job the meaning of technique is enlarged and social work becomes increasingly a major constructive force in social advance." **—JOHN FITCH to National Conference of Social Work.**

Massachusetts adopts a plan for old age assistance.

July The Family Welfare Association of America predicts the need of 6000 "new and properly trained" social workers by 1935.

October President Hoover appoints an emergency committee on unemployment. Col. Arthur Woods, chairman.

"Confronted by the prospect of the most distressful winter since the war, handicapped by relief budgets already swollen to bursting and by signs and portents of a general tightening of the public purse, the family welfare societies are face to face with a situation critical to their whole carefully developed structure."

November White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D., chairman.

"American communities face an unprecedented burden of mass relief. . . . Private relief agencies admit their lack of resources to cope alone with such a situation. . . . On the whole cities with even a skeleton organization for public outdoor relief seem in better condition."

December Drought relief, "the biggest relief operation this country has ever known in peacetime" administered by American Red Cross.

1931

January Governor Roosevelt of New York calls a conference of governors of industrial states to consider "what can be done to forestall the next depression and to deal constructively with unemployment." Interstate Commission on Unemployment Insurance appointed.

March President Hoover vetoes the Wagner bill to establish a national employment service.

The legislatures of Wisconsin, Ohio and New York have unemployment insurance measures before them.

May The President's Emergency Committee for Unemployment calls on the Association of Community Chests and Councils to aid cities and towns in discovering relief needs and in organizing to meet them.

June The impact of the unemployment situation was felt all over the National Conference of Social Work. "Government employment. . . . Unemployment insurance. . . . Unemployment will be permanent if we let it alone. . . . Next winter we will have federal aid . . . The rising trend toward public relief . . . Public welfare is here."

August President Hoover's Emergency Committee on Unemployment reorganizes as the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, Walter S. Gifford, director, to stimulate and coordinate state and local activities.

September New York, first state to act, sets up Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, and appropriates $20 million for its purposes. Harry L. Hopkins appointed director.

December President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership meets in Washington.

1932

January Congress has Costigan-La Follette bills providing federal financial cooperation with states for unemployment relief.

Wisconsin first of the states to adopt an unemployment insurance measure.

February Florence Kelley dies.

Interstate Commission on Unemployment Insurance recommends a "compulsory statewide system of unemployment reserves."

March American Red Cross begins distribution of government owned wheat and cotton as a measure of relief.

July Law creating Reconstruction Finance Corporation makes $300 million available in loans to states for relief of destitution. Fred C. Croxton to direct relief program.

November The American Federation of Labor breaks its traditional opposition and endorses the principle of unemployment insurance.

1933

March Franklin Delano Roosevelt inaugurated as President. "The New Deal."

Unemployment insurance bills pending in twenty-three states; minimum wage bills in eight.

May Congress creates Federal Emergency Relief Administration and makes $500 million immediately available for grants to states. Harry L. Hopkins appointed administrator.

National Industrial Recovery Act establishes labor's right to organize and promises in practice to establish minimum wage and abolish child labor.

Congress passes Wagner-Peyser bills setting up federal-state employment service.

August ***"Things have been happening rapidly in the office of the new FERA in Washington."*** **—RUSSELL KURTZ, New York.**

September ***"The present situation in social work calls for a reexamination of the whole attitude of social workers with a new focus at two points. First, the elimination of the vested interest complex. . . . Second, a recognition that we have a long pull ahead of us in the achievement of our two most important objectives—economic security and the establishment of sound standards of public activity in social welfare."*** **—PORTER R. LEE, New York School of Social Work.**

November Civil Works Administration launched in Washington to put four million people into full time jobs in thirty days.

December Repeal of the prohibition amendment becomes effective.

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1934

February First conference on labor legislation, sponsored by Department of Labor, held in Washington.

"The news that CWA is likely to be discontinued by the first of May has given the country a bad jolt."

Congress appropriates $950 million for relief purposes.

March President Roosevelt announces new relief policy to meet needs of distressed families in rural areas, stranded populations and the unemployed in large cities.

May National Conference of Social Work in Kansas City rises to the challenge of Mary van Kleeck's "cool, beautifully reasoned and dispassionately argued case for a break with our existing form of government into a collectivism shorn of the profit motive."

MARY VAN KLEECK

June President Roosevelt appoints a committee on economic and social security, chairman, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, to study economic hazards and methods of fending against them.

July **"Inexorable facts have brought leaders in high places to public recognition of the plain truth that relief of destitution is not an emergency but a long time public obligation that must be faced realistically."**

September ***"It is unthinkable that this relief scheme should be carried on beyond the emergency. It is purely temporary and the sooner we can do away with it the better. We want a permanent scheme under which people will know what to expect, with the sense of security that is so essential. It will take time and cannot be done over night, but that is the federal relief of tomorrow."***—HARRY L. HOPKINS.

November National Conference on Economic Security called by the Administration, meets in Washington as one stage in the framing of administrative measures to be put before the new Congress.

1935

January ***"The federal government must and will quit this business of relief."***—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

President Roosevelt announces plan for WPA and for the "orderly liquidation of FERA."

Wagner-Lewis bill (social security act) introduced in Congress.

February First National Convention of Rank and File Groups in social work held in Pittsburgh.

May Jane Addams dies.

Congress passes Works Bill authorizing the President to spend $4,800,000,000 to put 3,500,000 unemployed wage earners to work on public projects. The WPA is born.

June The U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Schechter case knocks out the whole NRA code structure.

The national labor relations act provides new machinery to safeguard labor's right to organize and to bargain collectively.

August Congress passes social security act laying groundwork for old age insurance and unemployment compensation and fortifying state provisions for the aged, for dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare and public health.

November **"The issue of industrial versus craft unions has now split the American Federation of Labor and brought about a new organization within the federation ... the Committee for Industrial Organization."**

December **"The need for a federal housing policy is still in the forefront of public concern. It is increasingly evident that federal legislation must be enacted which takes housing out of the emergency category and lays down procedure for a long range housing policy."**

"The final allotment of federal funds to states for direct relief was made on December 1 and the FERA officially went out of 'the relief business.'"

1936

March **"Only federal aid, say the social workers of the country, can prevent the disintegration of unemployment relief and new and needless depths of suffering."**

April **"The real struggle for administration of the social security act by competent, qualified personnel is not in Washington; it is in every state capital and every county seat up and down the country."**

December **"In spite of urging from various quarters President Roosevelt has shown no disposition to appoint a nonpartisan commission to study the tangled web of relief in order that the new Congress when it approaches the problem might have at hand facts and proposals by which its immediate action could be geared into a long range policy."**

1937

January **"The depression is over. Unemployment and relief remain to challenge the best statesmanship of the country."**

May ***"We know that our great objective is the complete liquidation of the great relief pool. We are determined that the near-employables shall be made employables. We are convinced that our administrators instead of being urged to give their time to spreading relief thin, must be allowed to spend that time constructively in working out methods of retraining and finding opportunities for reemployment."***—EDITH ABBOTT to National Conference of Social Work.

"Machinery for the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes is in operation all up and down the labor front."

June Congress has bills proposing reorganization of certain government machinery and providing for "an executive department to be known as the Department of Welfare."

September Congress passes the Wagner-Steagall housing bill which "establishes housing as a public function."

State and large city relief agencies report a "highly disturbing" increase in relief applications.

October A new business recession is reflected in a sharp drop in stock market prices.

December Reports from all over the country show a drastic rise in unemployment, especially in the industrial Middlewest. "There's nothing seasonal about it—this is new unemployment."

At the end of 1937 . . .

The social security act was operating under all titles. Every state had enacted unemployment compensation laws; Wisconsin was paying benefits; twenty-one states and the District of Columbia were poised to start on January 1. A total of 11,976,000 workers were covered by the twenty-three active state schemes.

Under the old age insurance provisions, 36,688,339 applications for social security numbers had been received.

Under the public assistance titles a summary of the program as 1937 closed shows:

	Approved plans	*Recipients*	*December payments*	*Average grants*
Aid to the aged	50	1,582,144	$30,789,323	$19.46
Aid to the blind	40	43,784	1,120,032	25.58
Aid to dependent children	40	527,101 (in 211,969 families)	6,799,001	32.08 (per family)

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Social Action and Social Workers

By HELEN HALL

INCREASINGLY, we hear it said these days, "I should think social workers, of all people, would work for a thing like that." The "thing like that" may be slum clearance, low rent housing, adequate relief and public assistance, protection of consumers, better labor relations, improved race relations. The thing may be reduced milk prices, increased recreation facilities, health insurance, minimum wages, workers' education, peace, birth control, civil liberties. It is fortunate others should say of us that we of all people should work for such ends; but it is even more wholesome that growing numbers of us are saying it of ourselves.

All through the years there have been leaders in social work who have struck out beyond the remedial to the preventive and constructive. Nevertheless, the profession as a whole has not been held responsible, nor have we always held ourselves responsible, for initiating progressive measures and pushing social planning in our communities. There are those, of course, who still feel that social workers should stop once they have fed the needy or kept children off the streets; who resent it when we show an interest in going further in ways that may come into conflict with elements in the community whose support or cooperation is desired in our immediate tasks. Even more inhibiting, to my mind, have been the limitations that perhaps unconsciously social workers have placed upon themselves. The depression has shaken loose some of these limitations, increasing our sense of responsibility as a profession and at the same time increasing the public's consciousness of our part in the whole scheme of things. As a result we come under cross-fires from those who are outraged at what we do and from those who are irritated at what we do not do.

Where we take hold, how, and for what, depends of course in part on the temperament and field of activity of the social worker, board member, or volunteer concerned. Some people can fight on more fronts than others—and on different ones. I remember being pressed one day to do something about a narcotic bill. I can't remember what I was to do about it, but the request found me deep in other urgencies. That narcotic bill seemed the last straw, and I turned it down so hard, it must have left the impression that, while perhaps I didn't take dope myself, I was entirely sympathetic with its consumption and distribution!

Nonetheless, I feel that our areas of concern have as broad a base as the "general welfare." That concern springs from our work itself and the terms on which the people with whom we deal must face life today. This is why I believe that no one really belongs on a staff or on a board who isn't hardy enough to encounter any problem faced by the individuals for whom he or she is helping make plans.

We surely should expect to take into purposeful consideration the determining factors in the lives of those our agency serves. We may recoil at some new political theory but our people may be stirred by it. We may be far removed from bad housing ourselves but the families among whom we work may be living in bad houses. We may chafe that boys and girls loaf on street corners but their idleness is the call upon us to find jobs as well as additional natural outlets for them. In becoming a part of a social agency we inevitably become in some measure responsible for dealing not only with the results but with the causes of those maladjustments that make our particular social work necessary.

To begin with, we can all recognize our obvious responsibility toward legislation affecting city, state and county departments of public welfare. I don't mean that staff and board members of social agencies should be the only ones in a community to be involved in drafting or pressing for such laws; but their experience and techniques should be brought to bear very directly upon the process. It is stupidity itself for laws to be dropped in our laps to administer, as social workers and members of citizens boards, when we have had no hand in shaping them. Nor do I imply that only those concerned in the public administration of relief and social security, for example, should feel responsibility toward these measures. All social workers and lay participants in social work should feel that responsibility. They know where community resources break down, where needs are not being met, and they should be the natural co-workers and allies of public officials, legislators and political organizers when these are sincerely committed to the public interest; equally, social workers must stand out against them when they are not.

OUR next natural area of common concern broadens out from immediate succor of families in distress to environmental conditions which bear down on life and well-being. Take housing—because there is so much to do at this very moment and so disgracefully little has as yet been done to clear out either our urban or our rural slums. Are not social workers constant callers at the shabbiest doors in America? What profits it, if we help move some family under our care from quarters that are dark and damp but take no thought of the next door neighbors who are left behind? It is precisely at this point that case work should and can merge with social planning; that group work can and should become part of the democratic process. We can help make families conscious that they too have a role to play in their own salvation—a role in which they can count for better homes for everybody. There is a driving force in our knowledge of the need as social workers, but there is even more in the dramatic realism which the tenants themselves have brought to city halls and state capitols and to Washington. And it is our job to help them bring this to bear on the situation.

As housekeepers, even more than as tenants, the women of our settlement neighborhoods approach life from the angle of consumers. Thus the members of the mothers' clubs at Henry Street Settlement have been very much interested in milk. They discussed and followed developments with me four years ago, when I served as a member of the State Milk Advisory Committee. There I was supposed to represent the consumer—one of two on a committee of eighteen—but as one of the majority members put it to me, "Why should we consider consumers anyway, when they are not organized?" Since then, a new civic body, The Milk Consumers Protective Committee, has done its best to help fill that organization vacuum.

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But let me trace the sequence of neighborhood activity. First, the New York settlements made a study of milk consumption in relation to income. This covered some 23,000 families and for the first time we had figures and charts to show that it was not until the family was earning as much as $50 a week that they drank all the milk they wanted or needed.

In each neighborhood, members of our mothers' clubs took part in the study, supplying much firsthand data; and between us all, we became pretty milk-conscious. After one of our discussions one of the women said, "Let's do something, not just talk." Today she is one of the organizers of the Housewives' Milk League which started on the Lower East Side but which has spread to mothers' clubs in other parts of the city. The members themselves have gone from club to club explaining and organizing.

Last spring a legislative committee was appointed to hold hearings on the milk question in different parts of the state. When the committee got to New York City, the Housewives' Milk League turned up two hundred strong. White arm-bands showed who they were as they filed in and they had speakers ready to voice their feelings. They had just made an intimate study of milk consumption among the members of their own clubs which gave them fresh material to bring to the hearing, showing that in their own homes they were able to afford only half as much milk as the minimum set by health authorities for growing families.

We had walked down from the East Side, picking up delegates at the different settlements as we went, and arrived right on time, only to be greeted with the discouraging words that no consumers were to be heard that morning. "We treat everyone alike," said the chairman, a state senator, "we hear the distributors first; then the producers; then the consumers. We always do it that way, treat everyone alike." No appeal to logic would have made an impression, but the sight of our earnest delegation with the arm-bands finally did. That day, consumers got second place and had their say.

There was great satisfaction when, shortly afterward, minimum price fixing was abandoned and milk dropped several cents a quart. But three price rises occurred in the next few months. One of our league members remarked whimsically, "Don't it seem like the price of milk went up every time we have a meeting; hadn't we better quit meeting?" "No," said another, "it shows what a lot of work we got ahead of us." At a later meeting, one of the women came in with the news that the price of bread had risen a cent a loaf. "Let's make this a Bread and Milk League," she said.

THUS, as social workers, we are confronted with factors entering into the standards of living of people we serve, with our responsibility toward these people and the parts which they themselves can play. This responsibility, as in food or housing, may take the form of spreading awareness and encouraging action among neighbors or participants who, after all, are most deeply affected by adverse conditions. Among group workers it may take the form of educational activities which equip young people to play an effective part as citizens and as workers. In movements that spring up spontaneously in our community life we may be called on for counsel and cooperation. Our responsibility may be to increase public understanding through fact finding and interpretation; or it may mean the defense of our American rights of meeting, speech and organization. Sometimes the agency may not be concerned with what is urged by the groups themselves or necessarily approve what is said, but that the people we serve are allowed freedom of speech is sometimes much more significant than what they have to say.

Those of us who work with groups do not have ready-made answers that will cover all our own responsibilities, whatever the situation; much less answers that we can apply unerringly in attempting to guide the actions of others. We are not dealing with the static—in our groups, in our times, or, I hope, in ourselves. When troubled board members look for a rule of thumb that will fit all cases, or some irate critic tries to put group work on the spot, I find myself reminded of a visit paid me by a committee from the unemployed locals of my neighborhood. They had a number of "demands," one that I felt was impossible for the settlement to concede, along with several we might readily agree upon. As most of the committee were older men and seasoned friends, we were getting along to a working basis when a new and very young member of the committee belligerently interjected, "And now, Miss Hall, we want to know, categorically, what will you do?" I think he must have just learned this as a bit of pressure group technique, and I was his first victim. As embarrassed as the older men were, they could not quite suppress his insistence from then on, as each point came up, for categorical answers. He carried it to such a length that at last their laughter broke the tension. I was touched some months later to have him ask me rather wistfully whether there wasn't some settlement club he could join "just for sociability." Thus you see the need for "sociable action" and social action may go hand in hand, and I find both are apt to be most effective when they are interweaving parts in group association.

The most bitter controversies social workers have to face arise in the area of industrial relations where the people we

1912—FIVE SIGNIFICANT BOOKS—1937

Settlements

Listed by LILLIE M. PECK

National Federation of Settlements, Inc.

PALO ALTO PUBLIC LIBRARY READING ROOM

CANON BARNETT: HIS LIFE, WORK AND FRIENDS, by Henrietta O. Barnett. Houghton, Mifflin. 1919.

Because it is a meticulous statement of how the first settlement came into being.

THE SETTLEMENT HORIZON: A NATIONAL ESTIMATE, by Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy. Russell Sage Foundation. 1922.

Because it is a competent analysis of the collective experience of the settlements in this country.

PIONEERING ON SOCIAL FRONTIERS, by Graham Taylor. University of Chicago Press. 1930.

Because it comments on civic and social action from a settlement base.

THE SECOND TWENTY YEARS AT HULL-HOUSE, by Jane Addams. Macmillan. 1930.

Because it gives a significant record of Miss Addams' thought and work.

WINDOWS ON HENRY STREET, by Lillian D. Wald. Little, Brown. 1934.

Because it gives a vivid commentary on life on the Lower East Side, and the currents that have eddied through the settlement.

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deal with are directly concerned as wage earners. It is here that civil liberties are most often at stake and here that we need to do our hardest thinking.

Let me put the problem first in its simplest terms. A case worker is asked to take under her care a woman who is earning much below a living wage and is working hours too long for health. Should her agency supplement the inadequate wages? Should she try to get the woman a better job and let it go at that? But now that the case worker knows the facts, hasn't she some responsibility toward remedying those conditions under which other women, too, must work? Hasn't her agency itself a responsibility, all the clearer if its support comes in part from the very industries which are paying low wages to their employes and working them long hours? An affirmative answer may lead worker and agency alike into a movement for a shorter day for working women; into a campaign for a minimum wage law.

Next take the more harassed position of a group worker in that same community. To her agency come girls working under these same low wages and long hours. Should the group worker just try to take their minds off their strain and deprivation by supplying recreational and cultural activities? Or along with these, should they be helped not only to improve themselves but the conditions under which they work? This may mean courses in workers' education to help young people understand their own problems and possibilities as wage earners. These young people may decide to take part in union activities. The line may not always be direct or simple, but may lead us from one situation to another in which the integrity of social work, and our old rights to freedom of thought, expression and participation must be maintained. Not only are these recurring problems, but they must recur if fundamental improvement of living, and working conditions, is to be an integral part of social work.

IN confronting these problems, we have to reckon with various reactions on the part of the public. In one city, a community chest asked an agency to stop a play which was to be given by one of its groups. The play depicted a famous labor case. One of the large contributors to this chest had threatened not only to withdraw if the play went on, but to persuade others to stop giving to the community fund. There were long conferences and discussions before the demand was withdrawn. While that took care of the immediate issue, it did not solve the question of whether there is anything inherent in a community chest which subjects social agencies to a form of control at variance with the democratic process.

That this is not necessarily so; that, given breadth of leadership, chests and welfare federations no less than social agencies can count on the side of civil liberties, is illustrated by another case. Here some members of the board of a social agency insisted that two of the staff should withdraw from a local committee on workers' education which had been organized under the auspices of the Affiliated Schools for Workers. The community fund of that city, however, refused to be disturbed by an attack on this same agency, brought to them on the same grounds. The result of the agency's trying experience was final gain. On the one hand, the most difficult board member resigned; on the other hand, the incident led to a more thorough understanding between the board and the young people the agency serves.

While we will still find opposition here and there to the workers' education movement, it is apt to take lodgement in the narrowest minds, or crop up when the program itself is poorly handled or handled in a partisan way. In various parts of the country, social workers sit on advisory committees for workers' education projects along with representatives of labor unions and educators. And that is where we should be if we wish to have a hand in fashioning this scheme of training which can be of value to the people we serve and to the communities in which they live.

Even before they grow up into citizenship, our young people make their start in the workaday world. In that world hours and wages, skill, advancement, and the right to organize and bargain collectively are current realities. Sometimes they are fighting issues. Our young people need to know about them just as they need to know about the issues of citizenship if they are to take a responsible part.

SOCIAL workers can testify to industrial cleavages and hot situations up and down the industrial map of the United States. Last year, in a certain city where a white collar union had been organized, a strike caused a bitter division of opinion. The Chamber of Commerce organized a committee to influence the public in favor of the employing corporations involved. In contrast, a citizens' committee was formed in an attempt to get at the facts in order to determine whether the right of the workers to organize was being denied. Two social workers and a leader in one of the clubs in their agency joined that committee. When this became known some members of the agency's board were horrified and contended that no one connected with the organization had a right to join such a citizens' committee and involve the agency. They should be asked to resign from the staff. Other members of the board successfully contended that membership on such a committee was a personal matter and entirely permissible so long as those who joined made it clear that they did not represent or speak for the agency; which seemed consistent if the agency as a whole had taken no stand.

Some of us go further and feel that social agencies themselves, no less than business and labor organizations, have a part to play and should play it responsibly. Certain it is that to accord our neighbors places to meet to discuss what concerns them deeply, to get at facts and to interpret them, to work for negotiation when the whole community is torn by conflict, to stand for civil liberties and press for social legislation—these things are essentially within the province of social work. To attempt to constrict the right of social workers and social agencies to function in these ways would be a waste no less than an intolerable denial of individual freedom.

Thus social work is on the firing line in a time of change. All of us, as social workers and board members, have a role to play in American advance. We can bring insight and responsibility and courage to bear in crucial situations; but often we can also anticipate emergencies and plan to meet them with responsible leadership. If we are wise, we will see to it that there are organized, in advance, groups and individuals who understand our work and share in our objectives.

Fortunately we can count on the growing body of people who are willing to have democracy questioned wherever it breaks down but who really believe in it enough to go on trying to hammer out a good life by that process.

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Whose Job Is What?

By DAVID C. ADIE

TWO decades have produced more change in our society than most of us can comprehend. Obvious enough in international affairs, the sweep of this tide has reached all areas of our national life as well, influencing the intimate methods of government and the political philosophy that justifies them. The great central fact of the need of relief has been an important factor in these changes. In response to this widespread need, we are now trying to operate a powerful set of administrative units in fields which twenty-five years ago were so insignificant that the average citizen didn't know of their existence. We call them Public Welfare. But really to meet today's problems we ought to have a new alliance of all social work, administrative ability, fiscal competence, and political effectiveness. Public welfare, as it functions today, is not the outgrowth of social work alone.

One doesn't need to travel back twenty-five years to recall that under the old order cooperation between the public and private social agencies was non-existent and non-anticipated. The relationship scarcely took as much of our time as the weddings of staff members.

In those old days, the county commissioner operated the almshouse and other minor indoor facilities. Like his counterpart, the city poormaster, he reached his post through being faithful in little things, aged-in-the-wood politically and, of course, in need of being "looked after." The city poormaster officially occupied a half basement room in a public building with an old desk, a swivel chair and a spittoon as his chief articles of office equipment. The town welfare officer was apt to take in his hay first and then deal with the pauper—after all, wasn't his official job part time?

With the opening of the present decade a new stage setting became necessary for what turned out to be a new mass action play. Private social agencies still could continue on their essential basis of parochial neighborliness but the public field became bedeviled and confused by the crisscross of new forces—pressure groups, labor organizations, citizens' leagues, social technicians and the like. The task that has emerged in the public field includes reconditioning and informing the minds and opinions of governors, mayors, legislators, supervisors, public groups of special interest, the recipients themselves and, by no means least in this list, the social workers. We as a group have not yet been able entirely to untangle ourselves from the private agency traditions and techniques we carried over to the task of 1931.

In the field of public welfare, confining it for the purposes of this discussion to its relief and service aspects, our present urgent problem is to arrive at some general agreement on the scope of operation and on the most effective type of organization. Closely allied to this problem is that of exploring and clarifying the complicated administrative relationships—federal, state, county, community—and of creating the machinery through which they must function. The need for this is especially apparent in the financial and supervisory areas.

In addition to the administration of public assistance there are two major divisional activities basic to the functioning of public social work. The first of these may be described as the non-relief social services. This involves child welfare in its several aspects, from the licensing of boarding homes to the supervision of the child-caring institutions themselves. It also involves the supervision of institutions for adults and all general services of an individual or collective nature which are in no way based on a means test.

The second major activity involves the translation of the social work program to the individual and the community through local units of government. It also involves the problem of local functional bodies and their relations with state and federal authorities to the end of achieving uniformity of administration and avoiding snarls that so easily develop in fiscal interrelationships.

PUBLIC assistance, with its categories of relief—the aged, dependent children, the blind—bristles with problems of administrative relationships. To the advantage of the client himself as well as of the administrative unit, the categories need to be closely integrated. Here we strike our first controversial issue. Those who stress the development of separate categorical relief and its administration do so largely on the basis of protecting standards of service, increasing efficiency through specialized techniques and more easily securing appropriations all down the line from the federal to the local unit.

Those who would develop a directed service to the family rather than a specialized service to the individual in his category hold that in addition to benefits to the client such a unification also results in the administrative economy properly demanded by legislatures and other appropriating bodies.

Those of us who have been in the public field in recent years will probably testify ardently in favor of unification. It seems evident also that the average citizen mistrusts public social work which claims to use basic case work practices but limits their application to a specific type of problem.

A glance at the figures indicates the confusion attending categorical assistance today. Average grants in eleven typical states vary so widely that there seems to be no reason or logic in their determination. Grants for the blind range from $48.06 a month in California to $14.04 in North Carolina. In Pennsylvania, which ranks second to California, the grant is $29.92. Grants for dependent children show Massachusetts at the top with $64.52, New York following with $45.83 and Oklahoma trailing with $15.85. Average grants for the aged show Colorado leading with $39.73 and North Carolina trailing with $9.16. In the field of general relief New York heads the column with $38.72, Indiana trailing with $13.65 and no reports whatever from North Carolina, New Jersey or Oklahoma.

These averages are hard to explain, and the ratio of grantees to population, even more difficult.

Of these eleven selected states, aid to the blind is given to 107 per 100,000 of the total population in Pennsylvania, to 12 in New Jersey; aid to dependent children goes to 38 per 1000 population in Oklahoma, 8 in North Carolina; old age assistance goes to 594 per 1000 population in Oklahoma as compared with 103 in New Jersey; general relief

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cases are estimated at 2174 cases per 100,000 population in New York, at 950 in Ohio. This is only a sampling and is not meant to show the complete range of divergence.

An even greater range could be shown, in my judgment, if we were to take a single state and compare the subdivisions in which the grants are made. For example, general relief in the state of New York shows extremes between counties and between cities which are almost unbelievable. The lack of uniformity therefore would appear to exist not only among the categories themselves but within a single category. It is impossible to view this social work parade with the smug feeling that everyone is out of step but our Jimmie.

Administrative problems are further complicated when we realize the basis on which reimbursement is made. In general relief, the federal government now makes no contribution whatever. Some states pay the entire cost, in some it is a local matter, while in others the state and the local units share responsibility. In old age assistance the federal government makes 50 percent reimbursement on grants up to $30. Other categories are reimbursed on other percentage bases. Merely as bookkeeping the set-up is full of complexity.

It would seem that the administrative difficulties inherent in our present program would necessarily drive us into the unification of our services if only for the sake of the day's work. If the administration of relief is to have some relationship not only to subsistence, but to the conservation of personality and the stabilization of the economic and social areas of community life, then any administrative structure must be designed for public assistance as a whole rather than for its special aspects.

1912 — SIX SIGNIFICANT BOOKS — 1937

Crime and Its Repression

Listed by SANFORD BATES

Boys' Clubs of America

AMERICAN POLICE SYSTEMS, by Raymond T. Fosdick. Century. 1920.

Because it courageously pointed out shortcomings of our first line of defense against crime and delinquency.

PRISONS AND COMMON SENSE, by Thomas Mott Osborne. Lippincott. 1924.

Because it shed light in dark places, and focused public attention on a problem still unsolved.

PROBATION AND DELINQUENCY, by Edwin J. Cooley. Nelson. 1927.

Because it was the first scientific attempt to outline the administrative and diagnostic problems of probation.

REPORTS OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LAW OBSERVANCE AND ENFORCEMENT. George W. Wickersham, Chairman of the Commission. Senate Documents, 1930-31.

Because it offered a thorough and complete analysis of many current problems surrounding crime and prevention.

20,000 YEARS IN SING SING, by Lewis E. Lawes. Long and Smith. 1934.

Because it popularized the case for the prisoner behind the walls.

1937 BOOK [Added by The Editors]
PRISONS AND BEYOND, by Sanford Bates. Macmillan.

Because its discussion of prisons and prisoners is informed by humanitarian philosophy and written out of practical experience.

Some there are who believe that the state alone should be entrusted with administration and see the program as one of federal-state participation. Others hold that the democratic administration of relief and welfare requires that responsibility for administration be placed upon the locality with state and federal authorities in a supervisory and consultative relationship. Under any alternative a centralized unit of finance and administration becomes necessary, and by its very nature this brings a degree of rigidity, whether the unit is operated locally or under the far spread federal jurisdiction. Only those who have been working in the preparation of rules and regulations, procedures, methods and forms can appreciate the difficulties inherent in correlating the views of accountants and auditors who deal with fixed quantities and social workers whose measurements properly are in terms of wide flexibility. For more than a year the state of New York has been trying to codify a manual of its procedures and the document is still in process, itself caught in the web of administrative relationships in which we operate.

ON all levels of government we must be able at no distant date to define specific jobs, as to the nature of the function and the necessary qualifications of the worker. The complications are endless—all the way from local sentiment in favor of hiring only local people to civil service or recruitment of workers through personnel divisions subject to political bedevilment.

The local units must have administrators, case work supervisors and visitors, auditors, statisticians and a clerical force. On the state and federal levels there must be the same functional groups, but made up of people with the capacity to carry on larger and more complicated operations, plus ability to plan, organize, stimulate, restrain and interpret.

Let's look at one or two specific positions. What, for example, is the job of a state welfare administrator? It is his task to determine the scope and the course of development of a state-wide public welfare program within legislative and financial boundaries; he must understand intergovernmental relationships and those defined only by public opinion; he must have the ability to interpret and carry along with him the public officials of his state, from the governor himself down the line to the village selectman. His organization needs executive direction and planning. He and he alone can decide the assignment of leadership within the organization and secure the necessary decentralization of administration with integration of authority. He will be expected to establish a pattern of administrative controls, functions and levels of responsibility. On him depends the maintenance of a balanced cooperative relationship between local, state and federal agencies, governmental boards and the public at large. He must give practical emphasis in policy-making and then accept the task of interpretation and implementation of the present program with future planning. He must see to the carrying out of continuous surveys and analyses of current and anticipated organizational problems as they relate to the local and state units. He must be responsible for developing personnel standards, methods of recruitment, and training services, and in this field must be deft in leading the public far beyond its present concept of the social worker. In the process he will have to evolve equivalents of experience and education as a guarantee of competence which are within the realm of reality and yet insure at least a semblance of

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the case work processes. With all of this, he is faced with the task of leading the public to an acceptance of his program and, even more difficult, of its costs.

At the other end of the line stands the visitor. What does a visitor in a public agency need to know? Well, she ought to have some knowledge of basic case work, an understanding of the agency's program and its administration, and of the extent, purpose and procedures of her own job. She should have a sense of responsibility to the client, the community and the agency, should be amenable to supervision and alert to opportunities for additional training in order to become increasingly adept at the task.

In between these two, the state administrator and the visitor, is the supervisor in perhaps the most difficult job of all. It is her task to interpret and to apply accepted case work concepts to the education of visitors and to rounding out the agency program. The successful supervisor needs a sixth sense in evaluating the state and community pattern within which staff, professional standards, methods and relationships are to be developed. Her insight, tact and skill will, I firmly believe, determine the future development of the public welfare program and the effectiveness of its administration.

So far we have been discussing merely the programs, problems and relationships within the public welfare structure itself. But we must also consider the private agencies which not only are necessary to a rounded social work program, but which provide our only social work laboratory and testing ground for new methods and the development of refined skills.

The first difficulty is to draw boundary lines, to determine when the public agency is responsible for this and the private agency for that. To do this, we want to know the amount and the nature of the private social work which we may reasonably expect the community to support, in addition to those activities maintained by tax funds. But this is a question impossible of answer at the present stage of welfare development. Community variations, differing levels of consciousness and participation, defy any attempt to define norms. We cannot even fall back on the old formula that the public should carry the long term problem, leaving to the private agency the services characterized by immediacy or intricacy. The public program has developed far enough to necessitate its operation in one degree or another in both these types of problems. What is certain, however, is the unwisdom of developing private programs to include tax-fund subsidy which not only gives the public authority undue control over them, but also leads to lack of clarity and resourcefulness in the private agency program.

THERE is a word in social work which is acquiring great meaning and value: "reasonableness." At the present moment it would seem that the fields to be shared in a definite partnership by public and private agencies can best be determined by that social planning which is governed by an attitude of "reasonableness."

We can reasonably expect an urban community to pay more than the rural to establish and maintain high standards of social work. Yet many of us believe that we need our best workers in the rural communities. It is my opinion that sound personnel standards can be achieved in the local community only when the state and federal governments back up their financial contribution with standards founded on reasonable equivalents of education and experience. For example it would be reasonable to say that in most sections of this country the basic educational requirement for visitors should be graduation from a standard high school. To this might be added paid experience in related fields, such as nursing, with equivalent education and experience counted possibly in the ratio of two to one. However, if we are to have our communities accept those standards, we must be willing to spend many hours in close contact with community leaders, interpreting and explaining the reason for such measure of capability. Complete victory is seldom achieved in a single battle and one should know how to retreat without endangering the minimum standards below which we refuse to go. It would be impossible today to set a single standard for every American community. Standards must vary with the economic and social levels of states and localities.

Of one thing I am certain. Standards of personnel will be accepted in communities only as we stress the value of the services to be rendered rather than the possible economy to be achieved. It is not my experience that good personnel will always effect economy as the taxpayer understands it. Good personnel is, of course, more economical in the total effect on the community, but it is not always possible to demonstrate this in immediate dollars and cents. But, nevertheless, adequate interpretation of social work will in the end show any community that there is a price for service below which it cannot afford to go.

Many public social services are still too new to provide a sufficient body of data upon which to develop opinion and conclusion. Here is the need for the dynamic cooperation of all other branches of government which deal with social

1912 — SIX SIGNIFICANT BOOKS — 1937

Juvenile Delinquency

Listed by SANFORD BATES

Boys' Clubs of America

THE DELINQUENT CHILD AND THE HOME, by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott. Russell Sage Foundation. 1912.

Because it was the pioneer work on juvenile delinquency by two indefatigable champions of the juvenile court.

THE INDIVIDUAL DELINQUENT, by William Healy. Little, Brown. 1915.

Because it was the first painstaking attempt to analyze problems of the delinquent child from the individual viewpoint.

YOUTH IN CONFLICT, by Miriam Van Waters. New Republic. 1925.

Because it presented an understanding discussion of the problems of modern youth.

500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, by Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck. Knopf. 1930.

Because, with its companion volumes, it represented the first major scientific attempt to evaluate the effect of the penal institution.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, by W. C. Reckless and M. Smith. McGraw-Hill. 1932.

Because of its thorough and intelligent treatment of the whole subject in the light of scientific development.

1937 BOOK

SOCIAL TREATMENT IN PROBATION AND DELINQUENCY, by Pauline Young. McGraw-Hill.

Because of its painstaking scholarship and broad usefulness.

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maladjustment. We in the social work field can labor to identify ourselves with such a cooperative scheme. We can bring to it much from the past in terms of methodology and social skills. But we must learn to adapt ourselves to those values and modes of association which have been developed in the field of political action, to accomplish our purposes within the pattern of institutions which democracy has developed for its own service and stabilization.

We may not like a particular political program or we may have reservations with reference to certain political activities. The fact of the matter is that these are elements of the scene in which we must work today. For instance, to learn to think of relief, not merely as a means of conserving the family unit and the personalities involved, but possibly also as a means of redistributing national income, brings us out of the narrowness of our own professional concepts into a larger realm where it should be possible to develop some form of political philosophy.

The achievement of anything so basic as this would be in itself a great step forward for social workers. In the process we would have learned to see the point of view of other governmental officials and of the taxpayer, and to look at our activities in relation to the going economic order. It seems clear to me that only as we social workers launch out into this Deep will we succeed in contributing to the more purposeful direction of the ship of state.

The Insurances and Social Work

By EWAN CLAGUE

PRIOR to the last great depression there existed in this country no form of social insurance except compensation for industrial accidents. Today there are fifty-one state unemployment compensation laws in operation and we have a federal system of old age insurance for which (including those covered by the railroad retirement act) about 40 million account numbers have been issued to American workers. Great changes in social thinking preceded and accompanied the rapid enactment of this sweeping legislation. Several years of deep depression were required to make us as a nation realize that there are emergencies in the lives of wage earners due to factors over which the individual has little or no control.

Social insurance is a method of extending a measure of security to individuals and families in the face of some of these hazards. Many considerations have helped shape the present program. Thus, unemployment compensation and old age insurance under the social security act were made contributory in order to cover a large proportion of the population; and they were established as rights to avoid what was considered the degradation of the needs test.

In addition to these insurances, the social security act provides aid to certain categories of the needy—the aged, the blind, and dependent children. This assistance program follows recognized relief patterns and rests on a needs test. Neither the assistance nor the public health titles of the social security act enter into the present discussion which is confined to the effect of the social insurances upon relief and social work, and upon public welfare generally. There are a number of points which seem to me to be of great significance in this connection.

First, social insurance must undoubtedly increase the emphasis upon society's responsibility for the welfare of the individual worker and his family. Such an extension will be the almost inevitable result of the steps which already have been taken. For example, in unemployment compensation the worker will receive benefits for a maximum period of perhaps three months of unemployment. But can we then turn him loose on his own without further consideration, if his unemployment lasts beyond that period? So long as the great majority of workers get jobs within the benefit period, no serious problem will arise; but in a depression when many, if not most workers will exhaust their benefit rights without finding work, there will certainly arise a demand for further action. In England such pressure first forced the extension of benefits beyond the contractual period of unemployment, and finally led to the establishment of a comprehensive post-benefit system of unemployment assistance on a modified needs basis.

Another example of the same point is sickness as a factor in economic insecurity. This problem already has arisen in state unemployment compensation administration. At present the unemployed worker who is able-bodied and available for work can draw benefits up to the limit of his wage credits, but if he has the misfortune to get sick his benefits stop. Thus at the very moment that he most needs money, even his compensation payments are cut off. Compensation for illness is, of course, distinct from unemployment compensation and if undertaken at all, it should be made a separate risk; but from the point of view of the unemployed sick worker, the distinction is somewhat artificial. Therefore, it is my feeling that the present social insurance program must lead to assumption by the community of further responsibility for major social and economic risks.

THERE is a likelihood that the widespread extension of insurance rights plus the rapid growth of various special types of public assistance may lead to a decline in the standards of general relief. The selection of certain classes—the aged, dependent children, the blind—for special consideration in our social security system undoubtedly implies favored treatment for those classes, which is desirable. However, this development may also foster the notion that those in need who are left to depend upon general relief are ne'er-do-wells and misfits. In a number of communities there has been evidence within the past year of a return to old poor relief concepts and practices. These always have been based on the assumption that relief is essentially degrading, and that recipients of relief should be treated as paupers.

It will be difficult at best to counteract this trend in popular thought, especially since general relief will be the catch-all to which the least fortunate members of society must turn. Social workers have a distinct part to play in helping the general public realize the basic position which general relief necessarily must have in any effective system of social security, and in demonstrating the essential unity of all social services.

Clearly the administration of previously existing welfare

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activities—general relief, work relief, public assistance, and so on—will be markedly affected by the development of the insurances. The operation of unemployment compensation in twenty-three states during the early months of 1938 already has shown the close administrative interrelationships which must exist between compensation on the one hand, the Works Progress Administration and the relief agencies on the other. The problem is acute at the present time because the business recession in the latter half of 1937 brought many workers to the WPA and to general relief before they were eligible for unemployment compensation which began in January 1938. As a result, these workers find themselves in the difficult position of being transferred from WPA or from relief to unemployment compensation, sometimes to receive benefits for only a short period of time, and without any assurance that they can regain their former relief status.

FOR the future, the relief authorities are now discussing what they will do with applications from jobless workers during the unemployment compensation waiting period of from two to four weeks; to what extent they will give supplementary relief to families in which there is a worker currently drawing unemployment compensation benefits; and what they will do to speed relief to those workers who have exhausted their benefit rights while still unemployed. In the longer run, also, the WPA will have to consider the question as to when and under what circumstances insured workers will be permitted to accept work relief jobs.

These necessary administrative relationships probably will underscore the need for a comprehensive, integrated insurance and welfare program affording a real measure of security to wage earners and their families.

Further, the administration of the insurance programs seems likely to lead to increased emphasis upon mass treatment rather than individual treatment by case work methods. Naturally, many beneficiaries of social insurance have no need for individualized treatment. Yet it will be a major misfortune if the insurance administrators, in rejecting social case work, lose sight of those considerations of individual treatment involved in the insurance systems.

FOR example: the placement of unemployed workers through public employment offices is a specialized process related to case work, although it proceeds along very different lines. The appeals of insured workers against the decisions of unemployment compensation agencies in regard to benefit payments will certainly involve consideration of individual circumstances. In old age insurance the provision that benefits are payable only upon retirement from regular work will necessarily require some continuous contact with the beneficiary.

It is natural that the substitution of rights for needs as a basis for benefit payment should lead to increased emphasis upon legal forms and procedures, but it is most important that this should not in turn foster a mechanical or legalistic type of social insurance administration.

In the light of these insurance developments, social work itself, while preserving its fundamental philosophy, must modify its methods in many respects. Notably, social work must shift its former reliance on long time family case work, psychiatry and the clinic, to a method involving short time contact, administration and research. It is most important that social workers should adapt themselves to this new opportunity, and that they should contribute to this new field the valuable experience and the techniques which they have acquired in their former practice.

There should be no illusion about the possibilities in this direction. Other professions and skills are of course required in insurance administration. The question is whether social work can adapt itself quickly enough to make its important contribution in the formative years of the program which lie just ahead.

Finally, the development of social insurance in a broad federal-state program has brought to light new problems of personnel in government service. In these new fields no large groups of trained workers are available. This intensifies the need, first, for merit systems to bring into the program the best personnel there is, and second, for training programs to develop skills which now do not exist. This prospect offers a great opportunity for supporters of civil service and merit systems, and also for those who can offer training facilities.

At the same time, these very circumstances offer unusual opportunities to the politicians, since in these new fields it is not yet possible to establish effective personnel standards. There is today an active struggle between politics and merit and the issue is not yet clear. If the merit system wins, we shall be able to administer efficiently these great systems of insurance. But for politics to obtain a hold on the insurance field would be a serious threat to the success of the entire program. This situation constitutes a challenge to all those, including social workers, who are committed to the principle of merit in the public service. It must be met promptly, for ground lost now will be hard to regain.

1912 — SIX SIGNIFICANT BOOKS — 1937

Social Security

Listed by BEULAH AMIDON

The Survey

SOCIAL INSURANCE, by I. M. Rubinow. Holt. 1913.

Because it was the first comprehensive statement of the social insurance principle applied to American conditions, by an outstanding pioneer in the field.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE AGED, by Abraham Epstein. Vanguard. 1928.

Because it stirred and directed public thought and action on behalf of the needy aged.

UNEMPLOYMENT: A PROBLEM OF INDUSTRY, by William H. Beveridge. Longmans. Revised, 1930.

Because it has profoundly influenced current thought on unemployment and the responsibility of industry and government in meeting it.

SOME FOLKS WON'T WORK, by Clinch Calkins. Harcourt. 1930.

Because it showed us in human terms the cost of insecurity.

TOWARD SOCIAL SECURITY, by Eveline M. Burns. McGraw-Hill. 1936.

Because it analyzed the provisions of the social security act in relation to the larger issues involved in a program of social security.

1937 BOOK

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT IN OPERATION, by Birchard E. Wyatt and William H. Wandell. Graphic Arts Press.

Because it shows the actual functioning of the social security program in this country.

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FAITH JONES

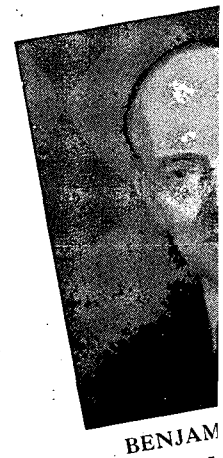
From case work with the Chicago United Charities to the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare via civil service. Now on "loan" to the Chicago Relief Administration as case work consultant.

RAYMOND M. HOUSTON

From boys' club and family welfare work to the New York Emergency Work Bureau, thence to the Nassau County, N. Y. Emergency Relief Bureau as director. Now deputy executive in the reorganized county government.

MARY L. GIBBONS

Supervisor and later director of the Division of Families of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, with a three-year interval as director of the city Home Relief Bureau. Now deputy commissioner for New York City of the State Department of Social Welfare.



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ELWOOD STREET

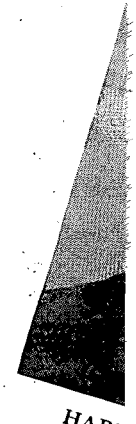
Family society work in Louisville, community chest director in St. Louis and Washington. Since 1934 director of the Bureau of Public Welfare, Washington.

JANE M. HOEY

Out of the wartime Red Cross to the Bronx Tuberculosis and Health Association, thence in 1926 to the new Welfare Council of New York City. Now director Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board.

LEO M. LYONS

Public school administrator, boys' club and community chest executive in Rockford, Ill.; "borrowed" by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission as field representative; now executive secretary of the commission and relief commissioner of the city of Chicago.



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CHARLES H. ALSPACH

Child welfare, family society, community chest and emergency relief work, all in Pennsylvania. Now with the Social Security Board as public assistance representative in the regional office in Boston.

ALETA BROWNLEE

With the American Red Cross in the South and on the Pacific Coast; assistant administrator of the California State Emergency Relief Administration; now child welfare consultant for the U. S. Children's Bureau in the western region.

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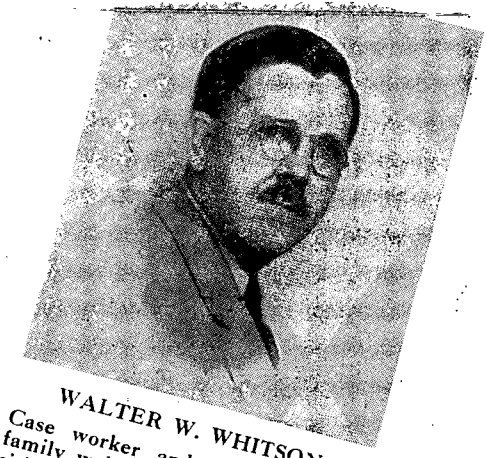

WALTER W. WHITSON
Case worker and executive with family welfare societies in various cities; drafted in 1933 from the Houston Social Service Bureau by the Texas State Relief Commission; now director of the Houston-Harris County Relief Board.

MARY IRENE ATKINSON
Six years with the Child Welfare League of America, a "spell" with the Ohio State Department of Public Welfare, now director of the Child Welfare Division of the U. S. Children's Bureau.

JOSEPHINE C. BROWN
From case work in St. Paul to the Family Welfare Association of America as associate field director; thence in 1934 to the FERA and later to the WPA as administrative assistant.

RUTH FITZSIMONS
From the United Charities of Chicago and the Seattle Family Society to the Washington State Relief Administration and the old Department of Public Welfare; now assistant director State Department of Social Security.

WILLIAM HODSON
Out of Minnesota to the Russell Sage Foundation for three years, then to the Welfare Council of New York City as its first executive director. Since 1934 commissioner of the Department of Public Welfare, New York City.

HELEN K. ANDERSON
Case worker and executive with the Cleveland Associated Charities. Now supervisor, Schenectady, N. Y. Department of Welfare.

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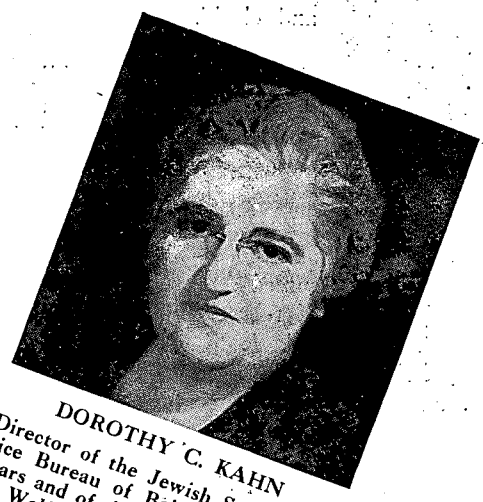

DOROTHY C. KAHN
Director of the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Baltimore for ten years and of the Philadelphia Jewish Welfare Society for four. Since 1932 executive director of the Philadelphia County Relief Board.

JULIUS H. RAINWATER
Five years in Boy Scout and twelve in community chest work, now director of the Department of Welfare, San Diego County, Calif.

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Medical Care—But How?

By GERTRUDE STURGES, M.D.

TRADITION and the law accept the principle that care of the sick poor is the responsibility of society. But that principle has been applied haphazardly over the years until today even a cursory examination shows a pattern confused in its professional and administrative aspects, inadequate to present responsibilities, and without the logic and order fundamental to any effective program of public welfare.

While there is disagreement in various quarters as to the adequacy of the medical service now available to the sick poor, the findings of the recent National Health Inventory supply plenty of evidence in support of the assertion, long made by those close to the situation, that the medical needs of the sick poor are not being met satisfactorily.

If more complete medical service is to be provided for such part of our "ill-clothed, ill-fed, ill-housed" population as cannot purchase it for themselves, whose should be the job? By what machinery of government should this service —so vast in its mass, so individual in its content—be administered?

The quick and easy answer is: "By expanding what we have. Expand our health departments, our welfare departments, our hospitals, our public health nursing—expand, expand!" The answer to that is: our present set-up for the care of the sick poor is so confused in its allocations of responsibility and authority that immediate expansion sufficient to deal with unmet needs might be an invitation to chaos if not to collapse.

Yet the fair day is coming—not this year or next perhaps, but coming—when government will assume more fully its responsibility in this area of human welfare. Facts must be faced, the facts of great numbers of people who in health manage to maintain themselves without public assistance but whose margin of independence is so narrow that illness leaves them helpless. Their illnesses, untreated because they cannot pay the bill, pave the way to prolonged or permanent dependence.

These people do not march to Washington or demonstrate at the city hall or picket the health departments. But though we do not see or hear them—they are curiously inarticulate—we know a great deal more about them than we did five years ago, and we know something more about the administrative tangle that now complicates their problems. We know enough certainly to see that much must be done before we are prepared to administer a program of the size and complexity demanded by their needs in sickness.

Among the many things the depression brought to public attention were the facts about people unable to pay for medical care, facts which hitherto had been almost the exclusive possession of physicians, nurses and social workers. To be sure the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, working in a period of prosperity, had spread a lot of this information on the record, but it took the depression to make it vivid by pushing onto public aid great numbers of people who hitherto had maintained themselves and whose lack of needed medical care had been no one's business but their own.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration held that medical care is one of the necessities of life, and developed procedures for implementing this policy through payments from relief funds to individual physicians, dentists, pharmacists and nursing associations (but not hospitals) for services to relief clients. Some of the programs then initiated have been continued and developed with local funds, but in many localities medical care is back where it was before. FERA brought out not only the need of the economically disfranchised for medical treatment but the lack of orderly organization for rendering it.

Further light on the problem has been supplied by the National Health Inventory which, as said in *Survey Midmonthly* [February 1938, page 54] gave the nation "its first life-sized answers" to such questions as: "Who and how many people in the United States are sick at a given time? What is the nature of their disability? How much medical and nursing care do they receive? How do the amounts of total sickness and of care received relate to economic conditions?"

It is not possible to review here the exhaustive facts and figures of the inventory. The findings, substantiating those of earlier, less extensive studies show that families with an annual income of less than $1000—probably a third of our entire population—are sick oftener, that their illnesses last longer and that they have less medical and nursing care than their better-to-do neighbors.

In any discussion of means for meeting the needs of persons unable to pay for medical care three questions arise:

1. Should tax funds provide medical care?
2. Who should be eligible for tax-supported medical care?
3. How should tax-supported medical care be administered?

The first question, long and vigorously debated up and down the land, seems academic considering that tax funds always have provided medical care in continually widening areas of practice. Along with the poor laws that plague us, we inherited from good Queen Bess the principle that, as Surgeon General Thomas Parran said at the recent Conference on Better Care of Mothers and Babies, "medical care of the indigent is a responsibility of society equal to the responsibility of providing them with food, shelter and clothing."

THE history of public medical care is one of slow and continuous extension. It has been estimated that local, state and federal jurisdictions expend some $500 million annually for the prevention of diseases and the medical care of the needy. The federal government alone expends something like $100 million a year for these purposes. In addition to its preventive program, government has assumed almost complete responsibility for the hospital care of tuberculosis and of contagious and mental disease not only for the indigent but for the general population. Some local jurisdictions also provide considerable service for acute illness through city or county hospitals, and through payments to voluntary hospitals, nursing associations and physicians. Many communities, however, still depend for such service upon privately supported agencies—hospitals, clinics and nursing associations—and upon the medical profession which, with its tradition of serving the sick poor with-

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out pay, continues to provide literally millions of dollars worth of care annually to persons unable to pay for it. But the voluntary agencies and the medical profession have been hard hit by the depression and no longer can afford to carry this growing burden.

Thus the answer to the question, "Should tax funds provide medical care?" is, "They already are doing so." The principle is established, but the practice is very uneven.

The answer to the second question, "Who should be eligible?" is by no means simple, for it is encrusted with traditions and hung with varying interpretations and practices. Admitting the eligibility of the legally indigent (those dependent on public aid for food and shelter) there remains the great mass of borderliners, those receiving such public aid as WPA employment and assistance under the social security services, and those not on relief but unable to pay for their own care in sickness.

To discover the prevailing policy of public welfare departments toward these borderliners the American Public Welfare Association recently gathered information from fifty large counties and cities over the country. Eight of these jurisdictions reported that the otherwise self-supporting are not eligible for tax-supported medical services; five that special types of cases or categories, such as "emergencies," and WPA employes are eligible; ten that the otherwise self-supporting may be eligible for hospital and/or out-patient treatment after financial investigation; twenty-seven that they may be eligible for any type of service after such investigation. Varying practice in this last group is indicated by such replies as: "We accept them on a budgetary deficiency basis, with rather liberal interpretation." . . . "Very selective basis, very few such cases."

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Public Health

Listed by HAVEN EMERSON, M.D.

College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE AND HYGIENE, by M. J. Rosenau. Appleton. 1913.

Because it remains the only comprehensive textbook in English describing the preventable diseases and the administrative measures applicable to their control.

THE OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES, by W. Gilman Thompson. Appleton. 1914.

Because the wisdom and experience of the clinician was here applied to a whole new world of preventable disease.

EPIDEMIOLOGY AND PUBLIC HEALTH, by V. C. Vaughan. C. V. Mosby. 1922.

Because the natural history of communicable diseases as here presented has influenced public health services throughout the United States.

CHILD HYGIENE, by S. Josephine Baker. Harper. 1925.

Because the survival of mothers and children in this country has been made more probable and happier through this book.

HEALTH PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZED SOCIETY, by Sir Arthur Newsholme. P. S. King and Son. 1927.

Because it has enlarged the imagination of every health worker.

1937 BOOK

SHADOW ON THE LAND—SYPHILIS, by Thomas Parran. Reynal. 1937.

Because it is a potent weapon for the medical profession and the layman in the attack on "the next great plague to go."

It is clear that in most places eligibility turns on investigation of ability to pay. The practical question then arises, who shall be responsible for this investigation? The practical answer is, the agency that pays the bill—the hospital that admits the patient to its own free service, or the public department that refers the patient to the hospital as a public charge. In practice, the line of this responsibility is apt to become confused, following local habits rather than definite policies. This is aggravated of course where governmental responsibility for actual service or for payment for service is split up arbitrarily between departments.

HOSPITALS and the medical profession have had long experience in defining eligibility for free care, and have made many studies of the subject, most of them aimed at determining the extent of "clinic abuse." In 1928 the Out-Patient Committee of the American Hospital Association summarized outstanding studies of twenty-five years and defined social and financial factors involved in decisions as to patients' ability or inability to pay.

Public welfare officials have much less recorded experience to guide them. A good many of them, struggling with new and complicated responsibilities, pressed by the obvious need for medical services and by restricted budgets, find themselves in a sea of difficulties, lacking definite principles on how to determine eligibility, and with their authority to make decisions sometimes challenged.

A joint committee representing the American Public Welfare Association and the American Hospital Association has been studying the urgent question of eligibility. It is not attempting to set up standards of eligibility but to formulate principles under which the authorities of each jurisdiction, within the framework of state laws and local ordinances, can develop fair standards for determination. Its work is not completed, but the committee seems to be of the opinion that the determination of a patient's need for medical care is primarily the responsibility of the medical profession, but that the responsibility for determining whether he can be given such care at public expense rests with the public official charged by law with providing essential services to needy persons.

The committee has approached the subject with the conviction that many of the present difficulties need not exist if the whole plan for admitting patients to tax-supported medical care is worked out jointly by public welfare officials, physicians and hospital authorities.

If the answer to who is eligible is foggy in current practice, the answer to who should administer tax-supported medical care is completely beclouded. The American Public Welfare Association secured a sample of the current situation from the welfare departments of twenty-seven states and fifty-four large counties and cities. Many welfare departments reported broad responsibilities for administering medical services. For example, seven of the states and twenty-five of the smaller jurisdictions reported their welfare departments operating medical institutions, mostly hospitals, as well as administering other medical programs such as home care by physicians. In another five states and fifteen communities public welfare agencies were administering home care but no institutions.

Health departments, it seems, have less responsibility in this field. For example, in the localities which reported, general hospitals are operated by sixteen welfare departments and by only four health departments; mental hospitals, by fifteen welfare, one health; tuberculosis hospi-

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tals by thirteen welfare, fourteen health; contagious disease hospitals by ten welfare, fourteen health. Sixteen cities reported physicians' home care provided or paid for by welfare departments; seven by health departments; three by emergency relief administrations. Two cities provided the same type of service through two different departments.

THE further one goes in delving into "who is doing what" in providing tax-supported medical care the more evidence is found of overlapping or duplicating authority. Of fifteen reporting states that operate more than one type of hospital (general, mental, tuberculosis) ten divide this responsibility between two or more separate departments. In two states three different departments operate hospitals while a fourth (and in one instance a fifth) is responsible for payment to voluntary hospitals for the care of special categories of disease. In one of these states two additional authorities in each county, acting independently of any state authority, administer payment to voluntary hospitals for general care of the poor. In twenty-one of the forty reporting cities and counties in which tax funds provide both general hospital and physicians' home care, these services are now administered by two different public departments.

In spite of all the criss-crossing authority in the reporting cities and counties—or perhaps because of it—a good many serious gaps exist in the tax-supported services provided. For example, three cities and counties reported no tax-supported general hospital service whatever; fourteen no public provision for the hospitalization of contagious diseases; six, no home care by physicians; thirteen, no dental care.

It is not only the lack of facilities for medical care that plagues welfare officials, but the inadequacy of existing facilities. Of sixty-six replies by welfare officials to the APWA's inquiry concerning unmet medical needs, few indeed reported no inadequacies whether in hospital service, institutional care for the chronic sick, medical service in the home, clinic, dental, preventive or diagnostic services; or in services for special groups such as WPA workers, transients or recipients of social security assistance. Replies include such phrases as "all pitifully inadequate" . . . "service especially lacking in rural areas." Eighteen jurisdictions, for example, reported as "most unsatisfactory" their provision for tuberculosis; fourteen for venereal disease; and so on down the list to the one community that reported provision for Negro unmarried mothers as its greatest inadequacy.

Many communities long have had machinery for the participation of the medical professions and public health authorities in planning the medical programs of the public welfare department. FERA rules required it. But the APWA inquiry showed that at the present time welfare departments are not making full use of professional advice. Of twelve state departments reporting responsibilities for medical care only five had professional advisory committees; of forty cities and counties, only eighteen. Five of the twelve states reported physicians in charge of the medical program. Nineteen of the forty counties and cities reported professional persons in charge—fourteen physicians, three nurses, two medical social workers. The medical programs in seven reporting states and twenty-one cities and counties are administered by "laymen." The inquiry indicates that whatever the general principles of professional supervision of medical programs, in actual practice many of the medical services administered by welfare departments are without such supervision.

Although provocative, the birdseye view afforded by the APWA inquiry into the present administrative set-up for tax-supported medical care is merely a preliminary step. The need for a thorough authoritative study is clearly indicated, so that after conference among appropriate groups, principles (but not an exact pattern) of administrative responsibility may be developed. Such questions must be considered as:

Should several different governmental departments on each level (federal, state, local) be responsible for administering medical care, or should it be the responsibility of a single department on each level?

Should responsibility for both the social and medical treatment of an individual be combined in the welfare department? Should both the prevention and treatment of disease be combined? Should all three be combined, or should medical care be quite independent of social treatment and public health?

Medical care, welfare, and public health have close ties and there are arguments on the score of continuity of care, efficiency and economy for the several combinations. Possibly the principles ultimately developed will suggest different arrangements according to the size and the nature—urban or rural—of the jurisdiction to be served.

This country is not alone in facing problems stemming from the haphazard development of governmental responsibility for medical care. The recent Report on the British Health Services, by a group familiarly known as PEP (Political and Economic Planning), analyzes the diversity of structure and lack of integration of the British health and medical services, and in its summary says:

Study is needed not only of the diseases and disabilities of the human body but of the health services themselves, with their cancerous growths of redundant institutions and committees needing drastic surgical treatment.

We also show that the public health services are enormously hampered by piecemeal and anomalous methods of organization which have no justification upon health and administrative grounds and involve waste of resources and increased suffering or inconveniences to the consumer.

MANY public welfare officials, so deep in the trees that they can't see the woods, are muddling through their day-to-day difficulties without much awareness of how ill-defined are the principles and policies under which medical care programs operate. But leaders among them, as among physicians and public health and hospital administrators, realize that the house urgently needs to be put in order. The federal government, and various professional organizations such as the American Medical Association and the American Public Health Association, have urged integration and coordination of governmental medical and health services, and the necessity for careful study of the means by which the general will to cooperate may be made effective. The trustees of the American Medical Association, for example, are encouraging state and county medical societies to assume leadership in securing cooperation to determine and supply "the prevailing need for medical and preventive medical services where such may be insufficient or unavailable." The American Public Health Association has a special committee to cooperate with other bodies in "extending public health work to meet modern needs. . . ." The recent Conference on Better

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Care for Mothers and Babies, called by the U.S. Children's Bureau [see *Survey Midmonthly,* February 1938, page 38] emphasized planning and coordination of medical programs and brought together representatives of nearly a hundred national agencies concerned. Most recently, the President's Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities has released its study, The Need for a National Health Program, showing the interrelations among the major problems and the importance of a general coordinated plan of action.

To bring public welfare officials in touch with sources of aid for their current difficulties, the APWA has appointed a physician as liaison officer between its own members and national agencies concerned with the professional aspects of medical service, such as the U.S. Public Health Service, the American Medical Association, the American Dental Association, the American Hospital Association, the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, the Children's Bureau and so on. The APWA proposes to bring the problems of public welfare officials in this area to the attention of appropriate medical and health agencies with a view to stimulating studies and joint agreements on policies and procedures.

"Joint planning" and "coordination of effort" are the watchwords in the effort to give more adequate service to persons unable to pay for medical care. All signs point to the development of more carefully thought out policies and more orderly procedures.

The Things We Do Together

By HELEN CODY BAKER

ANY man or woman who acknowledges an urge to make life more worth living, for some of us or for all of us, finds that he has moved into a mental neighborhood full of other people who share his sincerity and conviction, but who are otherwise "as different as their fingerprints." Any organization coming under the broad classification of "social welfare" leases space in this community of interests.

In this neighborhood of ideas and purposes there is need for a wise and economical distribution of energy. We have all been thinking a good deal about such distribution in the past twenty-five years. We have been calling it "community organization," "social engineering," or plain "planning."

A quarter of a century ago, in Chicago, a handful of agency executives undertook to fit together the rough edges of public and private social agency work into some sort of community welfare plan. What they got when they finally saw it all in one piece was an old-fashioned crazy quilt. There were whole blocks of patchwork that carried out consistent patterns, such as the federations of settlements and day nurseries. There were others arranged in harmonious colors, such as the Jewish charities. There were dozens of unattached squares, triangles and rectangles representing individual agencies which had to be fitted somewhere into the big design, and a number of pieces that had been dyed new colors. Some were faded and some were threadbare. There were big holes that needed filling in, overlapping margins and all kinds of discrepancies.

This little group of original planners could have made a neater job of it if they had started from scratch, but they didn't. They used what they had. They matched, pieced, trimmed edges and filled in gaps. They called themselves a Council of Social Agencies. It was a good name, then—for this early council belonged to the agencies. Its first concern was to prevent duplication and overlapping, promote cooperation, and supplement individual effort by united planning.

Drop the crazy quilt idea here. It doesn't fit the rest of this story any better than that original patchwork fits today's idea of welfare planning in a great city. Swing back to the idea of a neighborhood of ideas and purposes, and look critically at our title, "Council of Social Agencies." Might it give the impression that we are an agency-protective association? If so, we have outgrown it. The council's direct services to its member agencies, its steady effort to raise standards of individual work, help plan specific programs, advise on personnel, budgets and countless other agency problems, is only a part of its usefulness to the city of Chicago. The biggest end of our task today is to bring together the forces in the city concerned with social welfare in its broadest sense; to provide the setting in which all the groups that have a stake in this enterprise may meet; to see that they do meet, get acquainted, recognize their common interests, find stimulation in their differing viewpoints, pool their thinking and unite for action whenever it is possible.

Is it the place of the council to provide the traffic lights and call attention to them? Yes; but not to enforce observance with a policeman's star, or even a financial big stick. If an agency runs through the red light, we are in the position of the Wisconsin game warden who said he had "full powers except the power of arrest." Our hope lies in being able to create a spirit of friendly cooperation which makes running through the red light very bad form.

To a council of social agencies, the profession of social work is only one of many community forces. Social welfare, today, is not the exclusive problem of any one profession. The council belongs to the community and social work is a tool which is useful in getting a community job well done. The job itself is everybody's responsibility. It is the council's business to take many problems back to the community and to specific agencies; to be alert to new developments, quick to recognize new groupings, and to draw them into our neighborhood of ideas and purposes, introducing them to old residents who share their interests, helping them find places among congenial spirits, making them feel at home.

There have been so many new faces these last few years that these responsibilities have doubled and trebled. Fitting federal programs into our own program, planning for relief and work relief, housing and recreation, employment and social security—or, as it has sometimes seemed, fitting our local plans into the huge federal design—has been far from easy. But it has been possible because of the fact that, to a

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great extent, the new federal agencies in Chicago have drawn their man and woman power from our older public and private agencies which have had a quarter century's experience in team play. The development of left-wing movements among social workers has introduced fresh elements into our community of ideas and purposes; and here again the leaders are not strangers. Most of them are young men and women who came into these same agencies in the early years of the depression. Between them and our more conservative leaders there is no broader gap than that between the generations in any neighborhood.

How does a council of social agencies, today, go about its business of representing the welfare interests of the whole community? Begin with our board of directors. Technically, this policy forming body is selected from the boards and staffs of agencies which hold membership in the council. But 211 agencies with 4200 board members and heaven-knows how many staff members afford a wide range of choice. Every field of social work must have its spokesman. Both public and private effort must have a voice. There must be wide religious, racial and occupational representation. Bankers, industrialists, doctors, nurses, lawyers, teachers, ministers. Important new developments in Chicago must find a place. We drew out a chair two years ago for the Illinois State Employment Service. At the monthly luncheon meetings of our board the profession of social work rubs elbows with these other interests and finds common ground with them. It sometimes takes—or gives—a nudge in the ribs, gets its toes stepped on under the table, or does a little stepping on its own part.

Long before some of these community interests appear on the board, they are reflected in the activities of scores of committees under the council's divisions, sections and departments. All down the line, laymen and social workers are working together at a wide range of specific undertakings: planning an intake system for Chicago's clinics; grappling with the problems that confront unmarried mothers; revising the standard budget for dependent families; studying the division of responsibility between "protective" agencies and other fields of work; arranging institutes and short study courses; reviewing budgets for the community fund.

The council's weekly *News Letter* on social work in Chicago goes to 1500 key people—laymen and social workers. In its interpretation of events it sometimes tries to present a consensus of opinion and sometimes provides a forum for several different points of view. New voices can be recognized in the *News Letter* before they are heard on committees or on the board of directors, if what they have to say is important to social welfare in Chicago. Points of view of unions of social workers and client organizations, activities of pressure groups, controversies between the profession of social work and its neighbors, can be aired thoroughly in its pages. Developments in the federal and state welfare programs are put before the local community in the *News Letter,* thus making it an added link between public and private social work.

There are other ways of keeping our neighborhood of ideas and purposes in touch with its many parts and with the rest of the world. Summarized reports of health centers in New York and other cities were recently sent out to the members of our health division. Executives of member agencies have just been circularized with a reprint of Dr. A. C. Bachmeyer's article, Labor Unions in Hospitals, which they probably missed when it appeared in *The Modern Hospital.* New trends in social welfare work are written into Chicago's history by inclusion in the Council Year Book.

Special meetings and open forums are another technique for "keeping the welfare army swinging along in step." The Council of Social Agencies called one of the first large meetings of social workers and laymen ever held in Chicago to consider unemployment compensation and old age insurance. Perhaps it was the first—we can't remember. But at any rate, it was back in the dear dead days of 1928, when the idea of social insurance was so new in this country as to be almost revolutionary. Noses were carefully counted to be sure there were no newspaper reporters present. At the 1938 board member conference of the council, the best speakers we could muster brought an intelligent group of laymen up to date on the federal housing program, and on the influence of psychiatry on human behavior. Delegates —lay and professional—were called together this winter to hear the report of the survey committee on Cook County Hospital and to listen to what the United States Public Health Service had to say about syphilis in Chicago.

Study courses offer another opportunity for better acquaintance between fields of social work as well as between the profession of social work and its neighbors. Recreation leaders from the city park system are getting a taste of case work this winter in a course on principles and practices in the case work and group work fields. For the past three years a large and enthusiastic class of Protestant ministers has met each winter for a council course on Chicago's social services.

The departments of social work of leading universities give generously of their time and thought to studies carried on by the council's department of statistics and research, and their representatives serve on many committees.

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Recreation

Listed by HOWARD S. BRAUCHER

National Recreation Association

THE SPIRIT OF YOUTH AND THE CITY STREETS, by Jane Addams. Macmillan. 1909.

Because although written slightly earlier than the designated period, its picture of city youth helped lay foundations for the recreation movement.

WHAT MEN LIVE BY, by Richard C. Cabot, M.D. Houghton, Mifflin. 1914.

Because it persuasively presented buoyant, positive, balanced, real living.

PLAY IN EDUCATION, by Joseph Lee. Macmillan. 1915.

Because it still stands as an imaginative, accurate, masterly picture of play as the serious business of childhood.

THE IRON MAN IN INDUSTRY, by Arthur Pound. Little, Brown. 1922.

Because it proved that to educate for life today must mean to educate for leisure.

THE EDUCATION OF THE WHOLE MAN, by L. P. Jacks. Harper. 1931.

Because it convincingly insisted that skill-hungry men and women must have co-education of mind and body.

1937 BOOK

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON RECREATION IN THE DEPRESSION, by Jesse F. Stainer. Social Science Research Council.

Because its listing of trends and of needed research constitutes a thrilling challenge for the future of recreation.

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All this goes fairly smoothly. It also goes slowly. We can seldom point with pride to outstanding victories and say, "This was achieved, alone and single-handed, by the Council of Social Agencies." What usually happens is something like this: We call a big meeting to discuss the lack of ambulance service in the city of Chicago. The right people come to it. The newspapers give it a little space. The *News Letter* gives it an airing. When—after a long time—the city of Chicago gets twenty-four new ambulances, it isn't our story. The commissioner of police sends out the releases. No one but the secretary of the council's health division will ever know how much time he spent in talking to the people who could do the job or the people who were especially interested in getting it done, and in stirring up excitement about it.

This part of the council program is carried by the professional staff, and it's "done with the legs and the back." If a local public agency and a new federal agency have similar—or conflicting—plans for vocational guidance; if a new plan for public recreation overlaps an existing service in the private field; if there is distrust or misunderstanding between public and private health agencies or tension between the new city relief system and the private family welfare agencies, somebody on the council staff should serve, and frequently does, as a trouble-shooter. Sometimes a couple of interviews will do the trick, backed up by a round table discussion among the people most concerned and a story in the *News Letter*. Sometimes all that is needed is an introduction or a word of explanation between two people who really want to see the same thing accomplished. Sometimes a little well directed pressure from all the agencies in a section is indicated; sometimes months of patient liaison work among the many community groups which can contribute to the developing program.

Frequently we fail. We miss many good bets because of lack of time, or staff, or money or because of plain human frailty. But our staff has wide interests and many points of view. As individuals, they have contacts with all sorts of groups, from labor unions to the Junior League. The members of council committees cover a lot of ground, too, and are pretty good talkers and listeners. All this keeps us fairly well-informed and alert. Of course we never see the outer edges of our opportunity. But that's a perpetual challenge. Often, the job is done, and well done, without our raising a finger. The council doesn't claim the credit for all the fine cooperation in social welfare that goes on in Chicago.

This, however, is the least of our worries. We have no "status" to maintain, no "face" to save before the world. We are still enough of a "Council of Social Agencies" to be satisfied when we see member organizations perfect their programs and—collectively—find a greater strength than the sum of their individual efforts. As a common denominator of these separate endeavors, the interest of the council is in seeing things happen, in opening up channels through which they may happen.

Because our main purpose is to bring individuals and organizations together for the general good, the board of directors seldom takes action on controversial issues. But the council often provides a neutral ground on which both parties can be heard, especially when there is hope of their finding common cause; and individuals of board and staff range far afield and can be found on both sides of a dozen controversial fences.

An individual agency among council members is usually the spear-head of a new development. When interest broadens to include several agencies we recognize it, call it to the attention of the rest of the circle, study its place in the picture. The next steps depend on whether it is a threat or a promise, in the majority opinion, to the best interests of the people whom social agencies exist to serve.

We are sometimes accused of standing outside the battle. A friendly but leftish contributor to the *News Letter* writes, "Perhaps this story will be up your alley. It seems to be such a broad alley!" It has to be a broad alley, if 211 social agencies, with their 4200 board members and heaven-knows how many staff members are to march down it in any kind of orderly formation.

However, it isn't an alley. It isn't a four-lane highway. The nearest figure of speech I can find for it is the one I started with: a mental neighborhood of ideas, ideals and purposes. Even that is not quite right, for the relationship between the community forces for which the council is the common denominator is both more and less than neighborliness, as a city of four million human beings is both more—and less—than a small community of friends.

But we do have something, strong yet intangible, among the social agencies in Chicago, which we are proud to think the council has played a part in building. People from other cities notice it and say—sometimes a little wistfully—that we seem to know and understand and trust each other pretty well. Sometimes they ask how we got that way. There isn't any simple answer. I have tried to make a partial and very incomplete one, by describing some of the things we do together. But we didn't achieve fellowship overnight. It has been growing for a quarter of a century, and has all the years ahead in which to grow.

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Group Work

Listed by Grace L. Coyle

School of Applied Social Science, Western Reserve University

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION, by John Dewey. Macmillan. 1916.

Because in providing the basis for the "new education," it gives direction and motivation for group work.

THE NEW STATE, by Mary P. Follett. Longmans. 1918.

Because it provided an understanding of the process of integration in groups and communities.

FOUNDATIONS OF METHOD, by W. H. Kilpatrick. Macmillan. 1925.

Because it formulated principles which are basic to the educational philosophy of group work.

COMMUNITY, by R. M. MacIver. Macmillan. 1928.

Because it put group life into its social setting in the community and treated both in terms of dynamic process.

WHO SHALL SURVIVE, by J. L. Moreno. Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company. 1934.

Because it made important contributions in the area of concepts and methods with which to study group behavior.

1937 BOOK [Added by The Editors]

STUDIES IN GROUP BEHAVIOR, edited by Grace L. Coyle. Harper.

Because it provides the group work field with case material for analyzing group processes and the group leader's procedures.

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So They Said

Medal by Victor Brenner which commemorated the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, New York, May 18-25, 1898. President, William Rhinelander Stewart, New York; general secretary, Hastings H. Hart, St. Paul.

FRANK TUCKER, 1913, *Seattle*
To cry for social justice is easy; to attain it is a long and wearisome journey.

GRAHAM TAYLOR, 1914, *Memphis*
CERTAINLY nothing could so impressively attest the fact that religion has builded better than it knew as to find the state becoming more of a schoolmaster than the church; to find the county taking care of more sick and aged, widows and children, than the church can care for; to find the city sheltering more homeless strangers than were ever found within the gates of the Christian hospice.

MARY WILLCOX GLENN, 1915, *Baltimore*
PERHAPS at no other period of time has it been so apparent that freedom must be won and held through many different kinds of effort made by varied types of men.

REV. FRANCIS F. GAVISK, 1916, *Indianapolis*
OUR civilization and social life have become so complex that what affects the individual reacts upon the community at large so that each phase of social betterment or special endeavor is of interest to every other.

FREDERICK ALMY, 1917, *Pittsburgh*
MOST of all we must avoid the error of smug capitalism which thinks that because things are better than they were they are very well, and that capital can keep its seat in the saddle to the end.

ROBERT A. WOODS, 1918, *Kansas City*
THE keen isolations which have often existed among social workers are beginning to disappear as the community is a more and more important watchword among us all.

JULIA C. LATHROP, 1919, *Atlantic City*
THE power to maintain a decent family living standard is the primary essential of child welfare. This means a living wage and wholesome working life for the man, a good and skillful mother at home to keep the house and comfort all within it. Society can afford no less and can afford no exceptions.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, 1920, *New Orleans*
THE world is in tragic need of engineers or adventurers into the rich realm of possibility and freedom. But they must be adventurers who are willing to teach and not to dictate.

ALLEN T. BURNS, 1921, *Milwaukee*
WE have been talking about method and organization and administration, and we have not stopped to realize that there are great ground swells of human action that are carrying life forward almost irrespective of what we may be doing.

ROBERT W. KELSO, 1922, *Providence*
THE public welfare departments are the scene of a great seismic disturbance. . . . In some states our departments of public welfare are taking leadership in the constructive social services of the community.

HOMER FOLKS, 1923, *Washington*
THE shifting in emphasis from caring for the end results of disease and poverty to a constructive preventive program, including public agencies, makes it all the more imperative that action be planned upon the widest possible basis of knowledge. A grouping together and rounding out of the various federal activities dealing with social welfare in one adequate department . . . seems a natural solution.

GRACE ABBOTT, 1924, *Toronto*
WHETHER or not we extend the field of public service it already is so important that one of the tasks we have always with us is to protect and at the same time to raise our standards of public administration.

WILLIAM J. NORTON, 1925, *Denver*
THE changes that have come in the quality of freedom and the approach to opportunity with their violent contrasts of glory and degradation are of such importance that they threaten the very existence of a social structure founded upon the ancient precepts unless somehow, somewhere, guaranties are offered against inequalities, injustices, losses of opportunity and the results of incapacity and misfortune.

GERTRUDE VAILE, 1926, *Cleveland*
A MORE abundant life—the individual to become the best he can be, the community to become the finest and fullest expression of social life that it can be, with no one left behind: such is the goal that grows more clear before us.

JOHN A. LAPP, 1927, *Des Moines*
OUR only hope for individual freedom is the constant advance of social control and the achievement of social justice. Otherwise man will be crushed beneath the wheels of the economic juggernaut.

SHERMAN C. KINGSLEY, 1928, *Memphis*
IT would seem that there should be wisdom and concern on the part of social engineers, business men, statisticians, financiers, sufficient so to adjust the social and financial affairs of our country that there would be less of this periodic and gigantic distress.

PORTER R. LEE, 1929, *San Francisco*
FROM a movement dominated largely by motives it (social work) has developed into a movement in which motives compete for dominance with intellectual conviction. Fifty years ago charity was the mainspring of social work. Today its driving power is a conception of social welfare.

MIRIAM VAN WATERS, 1930, *Boston*
AN increase of social workers brings about an increase in social problems as each social worker is a social thinker. As we think more clearly we become more sensitive. As we become more sensitive our standards of life are enlarged. We are unwilling, in behalf of those we serve, to accept life on just any terms.

RICHARD C. CABOT, M.D., 1931, *Minneapolis*
LET us criticize and reform ourselves before some less gentle and appreciative body takes us by the shoulders and pushes us into the street.

C. M. BOOKMAN, 1932, *Philadelphia*
WE can scarcely respect ourselves if we are content to limit our activities entirely to the ameliorative and case work aspects of the social program. We must be interested in the problem of a better organized and controlled economic system in which depressions may be minimized.

FRANK J. BRUNO, 1933, *Detroit*
No civilized society, potentially capable of providing for every man's need, can afford to condemn men to idleness. Entirely apart from the economic losses it is barbaric and unnecessary to permit men to suffer the humiliation of involuntary uselessness.

WILLIAM HODSON, 1934, *Kansas City*
BEYOND relief and beyond security through social insurances lies the great question of steady work at a decent wage and an equable sharing by the people as a whole in the material goods and the spiritual values out of the abundance available.

KATHARINE F. LENROOT, 1935, *Montreal*
THE great task of the twentieth century is the reconciliation of individual freedom and social security. Involved in this issue are definitions of freedom and its practical limitations in organized society, of security and the extent to which it may be realized.

MSGR. ROBERT F. KEEGAN, 1936, *Atlantic City*
GOVERNMENTAL programs protecting large social groups are imperative. They shall not restrict our inherited personal liberty, but they shall surround it with a self-respecting security.

EDITH ABBOTT, 1937, *Indianapolis*
SOCIAL workers today are not willing to settle down and accept any permanent hand-to-mouth life of dependency for large numbers of people. . . . We are concerned about relief, but we are concerned still more about abolishing the need for relief.

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MISS BAILEY SAYS:

"Maybe When We Get Our Growth . . ."

By GERTRUDE SPRINGER

"NOW here's what I mean."

The man peered around the edge of his newspaper as Miss Bailey slid into the vacant chair that the dining car conductor pulled out for her. She caught the glances with which the two women at the table appraised and dismissed her, and settled herself to the serious business of deciding to have a salad.

The man went on, "Just listen to this headline. 'Social workers ask for a permanent WPA.' Social workers, get that? And who are they? A professor, a doctor, a minister, an editor, and a composer. That's what I mean. Who is a social worker nowadays, anyway?"

By a mighty exercise of will power Miss Bailey kept her eyes on the menu card.

The woman in blue opposite took up what was obviously an old family discussion. "If you're asking me, I've told you before that I haven't the least idea. Sometimes it's anybody; sometimes it's somebody. Depends on who's talking about it."

"You'd think," put in the woman in brown, "that actually doing social work would have something to do with it. But it doesn't seem to. That little cousin of mine who's worked for the widows' pension business the last couple of years—you know, Mary Martin, who had to leave college in her freshman year—is scandalized if I call her a social worker—says I'll get her in bad with her office. Yet that kid runs around and visits families and trots children to clinics and sits up half the night making budgets and writing records. When I ask her if that isn't social work what is it, she says maybe it's social work but she isn't a social worker. She's an aide. To be a social worker you must have gone to a special school or worked for years and years in some special kind of organization they call 'accredited'."

"But what does a social worker do that's so different? Doesn't a social worker visit families and write records?"

"Oh yes, of course. Mary says the difference is not in what they do but in the way they do it. Like sending for the doctor when the baby swallows a safety pin, instead of letting the neighbor woman shake it by the heels."

"Does it matter as long as the safety pin comes up?" rumbled the man from behind his newspaper.

Miss Bailey, hoping her ears didn't look the way they felt, devoted herself to her salad like a cat to cream.

"But it doesn't always come up by heel-shaking," answered the woman in blue. "Then you wish you'd sent for the doctor. I'm for the idea of social workers being especially trained to do social work. I learned on my hospital committee that just any old body shouldn't be turned loose on people because they're poor and in trouble. But I get all muddled over who is and who isn't. Here's this professor and composer and what not speaking as social workers, and here's Mary Martin actually doing the job and denying that she is one. Does that add up? Why would it get her in bad at her office to be called a social worker?"

"I asked her that, but she wasn't very clear. Apparently it would be violating some unwritten rule, like a college freshman wearing a derby hat. It just isn't done."

"Of course it doesn't add up," the man came out from behind his newspaper, "and the reason it doesn't is because the social workers—I mean the big shots, the leaders—are doing so much star gazing. I hear 'em speak around at meetings. Nice fellas, full of their stuff. They want to make this thing a profession through their special training schools—and that's all right by me—but they haven't kept their eye on the ball. They insist on especially educated and trained workers; but their schools can't supply 'em, can't turn 'em out fast enough. They've bitten off more than they can chew, and they're as self-conscious about their standards as a boy in his first long pants. The way I see it the social workers have the standards and the Mary Martins have the jobs."

The man retreated to his paper and the woman in blue came back into the conversation.

"What about Mary? Will she have to keep on being an aide forever? Can't she be promoted? What does she have to do to get to be a social worker?"

"We-ell, she says she might be promoted, but it isn't likely the way things are now. And to be a social worker she'd have to quit her job, which she can't afford to do, and go back to school for goodness knows how long. Most of the special schools of social work won't take anything but college graduates. It seems pretty hard to me, but she doesn't seem to think it's unreasonable. Says that no profession ever grew up without growing pains, and that the doctors wouldn't be where they are if their leaders hadn't dug in their heels and stood their ground for standards of education and training. She says that the profession of social work was growing up in a perfectly orderly way until the depression and the relief business threw onto it a load it wasn't strong enough to carry. She says that social workers really don't consider themselves a mystic fraternity but that unless they have principles and fight for 'em, they'll never get anywhere. Mary's an awfully reasonable little thing. It's a pity she can't be a social worker—she'd probably be a good one."

"Bet she is right now." The man came out from behind his paper again, this time to stay. "You girls through your Kaffee-klatsch? We're coming to a station. Let's get out and stretch our legs."

MISS BAILEY paid her check and made her way to her own car. She didn't know who these people were; she never would know. The things they had said were all of a piece with other things she'd been hearing of late, some of them thoughtful, some of them plain dumb, but all of them indicating a confusion from which, she admitted a little ruefully, she herself was not wholly free. Was it true that this young earnest profession had bitten off more than it could chew in insisting on trained workers which it could not supply, on standards of performance which it could not enforce? She told herself quickly that it hadn't tried to do either of those impossible things, that it had recognized its own limitations in numbers and in authority. Its role had been that of protagonist for principles in the validity of which it believed with almost evangelical fervor. The charge that its stand was motivated by self-interest, or by

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inflated professional ego, didn't seem worth arguing about, though a lot of people spent a lot of breath doing so. When social workers asserted that social work should be done by people qualified and trained for the task they did so not because they were protecting themselves as a tight little guild, but because the accumulated experience of many years demonstrated that the public interest in this as in other areas is served better by orderly procedure rooted in tested principles than by hit-or-miss dabbling.

Miss Bailey did not fool herself by thinking that each and every social worker was a perfect exponent of professional principles and practice, but she was prepared to stake her reputation, such as it was, on the integrity and sincerity of the professional body as such.

What then was the matter? Why the confusion? Why were social workers being "slapped down" by legislatures, belittled for their claims to particular skills, to authoritative status? You could say quite rightly that their insistence on decent relief standards had irritated the taxpaying public, that their insistence on competent workers had irritated the incompetents and their friends, but there seemed to be more to it than that.

The fields and woods through which the train was rolling were stirring with hints of spring but Miss Bailey had no mind for them. She was thinking thoughts of her own, asking herself inelegantly, "What's all the shooting about anyway, is it our principles or is it us?" And, ungrammatically, "Who is 'us' anyway, is it who we say we are or who we seem to be?"

Miss Bailey wasn't going to argue principles even with herself. But asking, "Who is us?" she let herself go.

First off there were the people whose claims to the professional status of social worker were supported by membership in the American Association of Social Workers with its requisites of special education and experience. No one who admitted the validity of the professional principle would challenge this group's claim as its exponent. To be sure not all the members possessed the requisites now demanded of newcomers. The association had started from where social workers were some twenty years ago and had raised its standards gradually, at each step blanketing in its going membership. Miss Bailey herself was a member only by virtue of one such blanketing, and she and a lot of other middle-aged social workers would have to die off before the whole membership measured up to its self-imposed standards.

BUT what about the Mary Martins, the thousands and thousands of her kind whom events had swept into the practice of social work and kept there? According to Mary, "the reasonable little thing," they never could be social workers or advance very far professionally because they hadn't gone to special schools or worked in "accredited" organizations—though no one was very clear just what "accredited" meant. In a word, they couldn't qualify for the American Association of Social Workers. But not all the thousands were as "reasonable" as Mary. They didn't bother much about status. Maybe by book and candle they were not social workers, but whose book and candle was it, anyway? "Forget the book and candle," they said in effect, "let's come down to earth. We're doing the work, and doing it effectively—at least we continue to have the jobs—so if we aren't social workers what are we, and anyway, what of it?"

Miss Bailey suspected that "What of it?" was a fairly popular answer to professional claims, but there was another element in the picture which must not be overlooked —the growing union movement among the people with the jobs. Vigorous, aggressive, frankly protective in their goals, the unions were gaining adherents not only from newcomers but from old-timers restive under the limitations of the old tradition of "service" and the insecurity that had attended professional advancement, standards or no standards.

AS Miss Bailey saw it the unions were a logical development out of the events of the last half dozen years that had thrown great numbers of young people, recruited to relief work, into close relationship with the tragic situation of the unemployed. Sensitive and themselves insecure, they could not be content merely to minister to that situation, coolly to dole out inadequate relief by rule and rote. They had to do something about the situation itself, if only to raise their voices. Logically enough they had organized, not only to make their voices more effective in behalf of the unemployed, but presently—because "but for the grace of God there go I"—to protect their own security.

"So now, along with the AASW and the more or less meek Mary Martins we have before the public as practicing social workers a lot of people, organized and articulate, following the general techniques of social work but concerned less with their individual effectiveness or professional identity than with their group strength as a union and their identification with the whole labor movement. Shades of the founding fathers—or better, mothers! What a change from the dear dead days when 'the cause' compensated for working conditions that didn't bear mentioning; when social workers were 'noble' and clients 'worthy.'"

With a grin to herself Miss Bailey recalled the story relayed the week before by a friend from the West. The family had applied for relief, ran the tale, and in the regular routine a visitor went to the home. A man opened the door. "I'm Miss So-and-So from the Welfare," she explained cheerily. "We heard you were in some difficulty and I've come to see if we can help." The man looked her over silently, then swung the door to a crack and demanded, "Do you belong to the social workers' union?" "No-o-o," replied the visitor, "but I belong to the American Association of Social Workers." "Huh!" was all that got, and then: "Listen sister, we're union folks here and we don't want anything but union social workers. You go back and tell your boss that. And say, you tell him to send a CIO worker, we don't want any of your AF of L's."

Musing on the scandalized tone in which her friend had added, "And he actually did," Miss Bailey speculated on whether social work, if and when unionized, would prove itself as effective as social work professionalized. Certainly it would be different; maybe it would be better, more attuned to those whom it served. You couldn't tell. A lot of traditions had gone out the window of late and maybe the tradition of social work as service—with just a dash of dedication—should go too.

Undoubtedly, somewhere in the course of change, the law would step in and define the social worker by the process of licensing as it has defined the doctor, the teacher, the nurse, yes, even the barber. As long as social work was practiced under the wing of privately supported agencies the standards of its personnel were their own business. "But now," Miss Bailey told herself, "it's different. Social work isn't under anyone's wing any more. The public pays the piper and calls the tune, and sooner or later, as a

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logical outgrowth of merit systems if nothing else, it will call for a licensing of social workers so that it will have some check on what it gets for its money when it hires us."

Why hadn't social workers themselves in the course of their aspiring pressed for licensing as the outward and visible sign of training and experience? Miss Bailey had asked that question in more than one little group of serious thinkers and the answer invariably was, "Because we're not ready." Meaning, or so Miss Bailey gathered, that the public, through its elected representatives, was not "far enough along" to accept the standards of education and training which the social workers held fundamental. That was true enough, but meantime the procession was moving on, qualifications for social work positions under merit systems were being written into law and, except in a very few places, the standards promulgated by the professional body were notable for their absence.

Miss Bailey hoped she would live long enough to see how it all turned out. Resolutely she opened the detective story with which she had expected to beguile the journey. But try as she would she could not let go the bone that her dining car companions had thrown out. "If I can't decide who is 'us' how in the world could they and their kind be expected to know? And anyway what we are is a good deal more important than who we are."

What social workers are, Miss Bailey well knew, usually is defined by a leap from the particular to the general. To the whole practicing body are attributed all the virtues, or more often the faults, of the individual whom the person speaking has chanced to encounter. With a wry smile Miss Bailey recalled the diatribe of a man who knew her well enough to speak out.

"The trouble with you social workers," he had said, "is that you know too many of the answers and know 'em so darned well that all you have left for the rest of us is pity for our ignorance. You're just natural born looker-downers. You don't look down on the poor any more, but you look down on each other and on people who have a different answer from yours. The children's workers look down on the family workers, and the family workers on the group workers and the group workers on the psychiatric workers and the psychiatric workers on everybody. Talk about the Cabots—or was it the Lowells?—speaking only to God. They haven't a thing on you social workers."

Then there was another speaker-outer who had said:

"The trouble with you social workers is that you don't know that society has concerns broader than the segment where you fight 'n' bleed 'n' die. You magnify the importance of that segment and of your own way of treating it. Things have to be done your way or not at all. And the higher your personal standards of performance the stiffer-necked you are. You talk a lot about teamwork but you always reserve the driver's seat for yourselves. You've got a lot of fancy tools but compromise isn't one of 'em."

Miss Bailey had laughed it off. The line defining compromise as strength or weakness was too fine drawn for her dialectics. Both these men, she told herself, had generalized from a limited and evidently unfortunate experience. Unhappily that kind of experience seemed to be rolling up into a fairly sizeable ball of public opinion. She would have choked before admitting that any large majority of social workers were opinionated and rigidly uncompromising, but if there were only a few it was worthwhile to ask how they got that way. What about their professional education?

THE schools of social work had had a weary struggle to build up the ground on which they stood. Miss Bailey had heard the story many times from the people who themselves had made the first tentative beginnings, and always she had marveled at their vision and their fortitude. It was only forty years ago, she reminded herself, that the beginning had been made and for at least twenty years thereafter there had been no very definite agreement as to fundamental purpose or educational method. Even yet, some of her faculty friends had confided, it is a continual struggle to give the work genuine graduate caliber and even yet it is a good deal a matter of opinion as to what constitutes the body of knowledge essential to professional practice, with the tendency, it sometimes seems, to widen rather than to deepen its content.

Such a lot of things social workers need to know these days! Miss Bailey felt her head swim as she ticked them off. Sociology, because they must understand the functioning of human beings in modern society; psychology and psychiatry to understand the wellsprings of human action; economics to understand whence come unemployment and poverty. They must understand political science, and the various theories of taxation; they must have a backlog of the history of philanthropy, public welfare and labor relations. At least a smattering of principles of medical practice and of law. They must have a grounding in generic case work and on top of that a grasp of whatever specialty they elect for themselves. And besides all that they must have practice, field work under meticulous supervision.

"And then they go out as 'trained,' these young people

1912 — SIX SIGNIFICANT BOOKS — 1937

Mental Hygiene

Listed by GEORGE K. PRATT, M.D.

The Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene

A MIND THAT FOUND ITSELF, by **Clifford W. Beers. Doubleday Doran. 1923.**

Because this recital of the experiences of a recovered mental patient became the symbol for a world-wide movement in the field of the humanities.

THE NORMAL MIND, by **William H. Burnham. Appleton. 1924.**

Because it succeeded for the first time in integrating and reconciling the viewpoints of pedagogy and psychiatry.

EVERYDAY PROBLEMS OF THE EVERYDAY CHILD, by **Douglas A. Thom. Appleton. 1927.**

Because it has given thousands of parents a better understanding of children.

ADOLESCENCE — STUDIES IN MENTAL HYGIENE, by **Frankwood E. Williams. Farrar and Rinehart. 1930.**

Because it has contributed a new and penetrating understanding of its field.

SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT, by **Stanley Davies. Crowell. 1930.**

Because, for the first time, it collected scattered viewpoints and consolidated them into a logical whole.

1937 BOOK

THE MENTALLY ILL IN AMERICA: THE HISTORY OF THEIR CARE AND TREATMENT FROM COLONIAL TIMES, by **Albert Deutsch. Doubleday Doran.**

Because it gives us for the first time an adequate account of the evolution of the treatment of the insane.

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from the schools, slicked over with knowledge and full of vocabulary, to agencies none too sure of their place in a shifting social scene, to the realities of relationships, public and professional, which they have barely glimpsed. Is it any wonder that some of them take refuge in a kind of professional ostentation that makes them pretty hard to live with?"

OF late years Miss Bailey had heard the schools criticized, often by their own alumni, for their lack of adjustment to a changing world—"in-growing" and "myopic" were the words, with passing allusions to "living in an ivory tower." The schools, ran the comment, clung to the traditions of private social work in big cities, and their graduates were unequipped for the realities of life in the wide open spaces of the public scene, "The schools simply don't know the way the wind's blowing."

Naturally the schools had trained for work in the cities; until recently the cities were about the only places that had any social work to train for or in. But it was sheer nonsense to say that they didn't know the way the wind blew. What they had done was to refuse to be blown off their course before they got their bearings on a better one. You might not agree with that stand, might wish for a little more action on the quarterdeck as the winds veered, but you had to admit their right to steer their craft, foul weather or fair.

As a matter of fact the schools never had been as rigid as their casual critics claimed. They had stuck to their educational last, limited always by money, and by their slow and slightly reluctant acceptance by the world of higher education; but their whole development had been through a healthy process of experimentation still going on. Only last week the American Association of Schools of Social Work had announced a three-year project of development and research turning on their responsibility for preparing workers for the expanding public programs of welfare and social insurance, with a review of their own standards of social work education.

The schools had never made a virtue of numbers, had never aspired to "turn 'em out" fast enough to do the whole job of social work. "And suppose," Miss Bailey's thoughts ran on, "just suppose that by some magic they had been able to turn out overnight enough graduates to do the job as it broke say in 1933? Would they have gotten it to do?"

She cogitated on that for awhile and decided, "Probably not; at least not if the democratic process prevailed. We, the people, were not educated to it. Too many of us were still in the old poor law stage of social work to have turned to the professional social worker in the emergency as we turn to the doctor in an epidemic." But then, if that were true, why were the schools being pressed to "turn 'em out" now, pressed to find short cuts to vocational proficiency, pressed to lend themselves to a type of training on the job which had little relation to the process of professional education? "Is it possible that we, the people, have accepted by and large the principles developed through the professional practice of social work while shrinking from the professional social worker and the authoritative status she seems to represent?"

Running back over recent events Miss Bailey spotted evidence that seemed to bear on her question. Certainly the whole FERA had been in the pattern of modern social work methods; certainly the framework of the assistance services under the social security act is fundamentally that of modern philosophy and practice. The prevailing current in the new and expanding public welfare services is toward personnel equipped for its task. To be sure there isn't enough personnel so equipped and we don't always like the specimens we get but no one can deny that there is a growing acceptance of the principle of training. Look at the efforts of public welfare officials to evolve a form of in-service training that is realistic and really trains; look at the crowds that flock to institutes of one kind and another whenever and wherever one of them shows itself; look at the number of colleges that are attempting, somewhat fumblingly perhaps, to set up courses of training for social work; look at the way the neophytes in the calling have grasped at any glimmer of light and leading on their jobs; look how the unions have written into their platforms "a comprehensive training program at agency expense on agency time."

Perhaps the pressure on the schools to "turn 'em out faster" wasn't to be regretted after all. . . . Perhaps it was a good healthy sign of a changed public attitude toward the practice of social work, an acceptance of the principle of special training. Perhaps the schools by holding fast to their educational philosophy and refusing to become diploma mills would be the lever by which standards everywhere would be raised until professional practice actually matched professional aspiration. Miss Bailey hoped she would live long enough to see how that turned out, too.

"But meantime," she asked herself, "where are we? Who is a social worker anyway? Blessed if I know. The American Association of Social Workers has set up as a professional definition certain measures of educational background and approved practice, and in spite of a lot of howls, some of them from within, has gained steadily in membership and in prestige. It doesn't quite rank as a learned body, but just give it another generation! The neophytes, more especially the unions, aspire to more training and education but want to write their own philosophical ticket. They're social workers as the public sees it, and the sins and successes of anyone of us are charged up to all of us. And don't forget all those who get tagged as social workers because they speak up for WPA or are on some committee or other. They come into the whole picture like the barking dog in the old riddle—just to make it harder. Well, it's beyond me. I don't wonder that the dining car man grumbled in his so-to-speak beard."

The train was slowing to a stop and Miss Bailey reached for her hat. Her wits would do with a little fresh air.

PACING the station platform she smiled to herself, "Up to your old tricks, aren't you Amelia? Talking to yourself and getting practically nowhere. That meek little Mary Martin made the whole point when she said, not so originally, that no profession grows up without growing pains. Well we've got 'em all right and a dash of adolescent emotion to boot. I suspect we really are a little self-conscious over the long pants the depression put on us. If we were talking about anyone but ourselves we'd probably call it over-compensation.

"My mother used to say that while naturally she loved her children during their adolescence it was a great relief when they grew up and it didn't take so much understanding to make it possible to live with them. At least this calling of ours is growing, and whether we turn out to be a learned profession or a labor union or something in between, the direction in which we are growing is up. Maybe when we begin to get our growth and don't need so much understanding people will like us better."

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The Public Holds Its Nose

By SIDNEY HOLLANDER

THE public is thoroughly fed up with public welfare. It is gagging because it doesn't like the taste nor the smell of what it has had to swallow. We're lucky if the dose is kept down until it's digested. To make the patient take more now, we'd have to tie him and force his jaws.

It's a curious phenomenon, a mass obsession that should interest students of public psychology. Here is our industrial structure jarred loose, humiliation and suffering all around, yet the community faces the victims of depression not with sympathy, but with hostility and resentment. Something must be radically wrong with the social welfare program, or the method, or both.

It isn't that the American people are hard-hearted. They support community chests, hospitals and sectarian institutions. Confronted by sudden disaster—fire, famine, flood—they respond willingly even when the victims are unknown or in distant parts; yet in the face of an upheaval more widespread and far more devastating, with its sufferers in full view, we close our eyes, our ears, our minds and our hearts.

Nor is it primarily the cost. The public is used to extravagance. Look at the billions it blows in for education, without even asking why the dear children never learn to spell—at least not the way Webster prefers. Look at the cheerful way it empties its jeans for a big army and navy. It is not greatly concerned that Washington has run up the cost of the show five or ten times since it turned its check book over. No, that isn't why it's sour on "relief." But sour it is.

Ask the man in the street what he thinks of it. It won't matter whether he is a member of the merchants' association or a professional man, a farmer or a stevedore, you'll get pretty much the same answers: "a racket of the social workers" . . . "soft pickings for the politicians" . . . "easy graft for a lot of bums too lazy to work" . . . "a lot of tripe."

Business big and little is solidly against it, from the corporation president in his paneled office to the corner grocer. "It's run up taxes." . . . "It's increased labor unrest." . . . "We took better care of them with our private charities" . . . "They don't want to work anyhow. I offered a job to ten of them and not one showed up." That one rejected job—never verified or questioned! And the client with the unsuspected bank account! There's no use pointing to the crowded employment offices; no use mentioning the horde that descended after a three-line advertisement for a furnace man; not even any use to quote from the challenging article in *Fortune,* glorifier of business, showing all over again that men on relief *do* want to work. Least use of all to recount the stories of social workers on their daily rounds. "Oh, those! They *have* to make things bad to keep their jobs."

Does the farmer think better of it? "Don't you believe those yarns about men wanting jobs." . . . "I can't get enough down here to help harvest the crops." . . . "Never saw it like this! Must be the relief." . . . "Who wants to work when he can get paid for loafing?" Don't ask what he pays, or how long his work will last, or what happens to the men when they're through. You might ask those on WPA or relief, though, what happened when they left to take a temporary job, and how their families kept from starving before they got back on the rolls.

Even labor is doubtful, less critical than employers, but far from convinced. "Those fellows on relief have got it easy. I work hard eight hours a day to make both ends meet, and they get paid for sitting home reading the baseball scores. And those fellows on road-work. I heard one of them ask the foreman for a longer shovel; said he couldn't lean comfortably on the one he had." He knows better, of course; knows plenty of men in his own neighborhood, good workmen eating their hearts out with nothing to do. Probably his own wife has carried a bit of broth to some of the sick when "subsistence budgets" had to yield to the more pressing appetite of the rent collector.

The man-in-the-street and the woman-in-the-home join the chorus. "Taxes! Taxes! ! Taxes ! ! ! Taxes ! ! ! ! . . . Everything we buy. . . . Everything we eat. . . . Every place we go. . . . Theaters, autos, cigarettes, dividends! Where does it all go? I thought when we contributed to the community chest it was to take care of those people. Who's getting the money anyway? Is there no end to this thing?"

That last is a poser. Is there an end?

But all this comes from one side, the side that pays the taxes. Perhaps the disapproval of those outside the program can be offset by a word of praise from those it has served. They are the poor devils who have taken it on the chin for ten years. Perhaps it's better not to ask them; better not to mention "Security" or "Welfare" or "Protection" to them. Paupers' oaths! Evictions! ! Purges! ! ! They know what the jest is worth.

Well, are there more to be heard from? Yes—the social workers, straight from the firing line. Daily, hourly, they look on the faces of those they so often are helpless to comfort. More tragic than material needs, the sight of hopes fading, manhood corroding, life at the breaking point. The skilled services of their training become a mockery; their reward, a wage resented and the sneers of the community. This, the high calling of social work; this, the service of man to man. Christianity in liquidation!

SO here we stand today. Long on public participation, short on public acceptance. Next to poison ivy, public welfare is probably the most unpopular thing in the country today. Possibly it ranks first; some sections don't have poison ivy.

What's wrong? How did public welfare get in the dog house this way?

One cause is that this country was not ready for what hit us. We were building sun decks instead of cyclone cellars. Wealth continued to mount; industry to expand; profits and wages to increase—never so rapidly as during the years before the depression. Only the doubting Thomases (including Norman) noted that along with this unbridled prosperity came disquieting rumors of men out of jobs; the rest of us were blinded by the sunlight of prosperity. So when the storm broke it was natural that we looked on it merely as a temporary squall, and made only emergency

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plans for meeting it. We were caught with neither experience nor philosophy for the tough going ahead.

We are a nation of individualists. Community thinking and community planning are not our forte. Our views are a mixture of laissez-faire economics with a touch of theological seasoning, sullied neither by Marx nor Veblen. Social work with us is an effluent from our religious background, concerned primarily with the biblical maxims of care for the sick, the aged and the helpless. As to employment, the scriptures are plain. Man must eat his bread in the sweat of his brow. Very well, no sweat, no bread! True, the Bible isn't quite explicit as to unemployment—probably just an oversight; nothing to affect principles. So the program of social protection developed with little attention to underlying industrial changes, and scant consideration of plans for utilizing the labor of the unemployed. (John R. Commons and John B. Andrews dissenting.)

Even had we known what to do when the depression hit us, the havoc was so great that we were hard put even to feed and shelter the victims.

IN a way, the universality of the disaster simplified the problem. No group was spared. Under the impending pall of common distress, rich and poor drew close together. With banks going down like ten pins, privation became quite respectable. Almost it looked as if the Messianic day had arrived when men would become brothers. Outpouring of public funds met with general approval at the start; no dissent even from chambers of commerce or real estate boards which were having troubles of their own. With eyes turned to the East, these worthies intoned their daily prayers for salvation. But this moment of respite did not long endure. The lion and the lamb may lie down together, but they're not likely to be permanent bedfellows.

Conditions slowly improved, and as personal insecurity diminished, taxes increased. Gradually, mounting indignation at the restrictions placed upon business and finance so embittered the "upper brackets" that everything out of Washington became an abomination, social security with the rest. The newspapers, ever more responsive to the alarm notes of the kingbirds than to the hungry chirpings of sparrows, began to "view with alarm," and before long a steady campaign of ridicule against all forms of assistance began. Had these attacks not fallen in with the temper of the time they would have been futile, but I think they did so fall in. Earlier feelings of sympathy had been dulled; repetition of suffering had made it less dramatic. It was necessary to relieve one's conscience by finding some justification for jettisoning the whole mess.

One didn't have to look very hard. First, there was the encroachment on local autonomy. "Who is this Harry Hopkins to tell us how to run our relief?" Federal leadership maintained some measure of control over standards and personnel. Feeble as it was, it prevented utter chaos, but there's no denying it was responsible for much of the antagonism that still exists.

Then there were the unpredictable vacillations and uncertainties of the FERA program. Admit that experimentation was necessary. Admit that "only reactionaries believe that nothing should ever be done for the first time." Still, planning must be purposeful and direction certain; and they were far from that.

Nor can we deny the inefficiency of performance. In numbers our personnel was deficient; in training, inadequate; in leadership, scattered, and uneven. The result—waste, carelessness, ineffectiveness. True, time was of the essence, and to avert starvation it was often necessary to accept cases without complete investigation. But explanation and interpretation were too long delayed. Every error of judgment—and there were many, every case unwisely accepted—and there were plenty, was passed along as proof that the program was rotten with inefficiency and graft, and those on relief a bunch of chiselers. (How did we ever get along before that word was coined?)

FINALLY, the program reeked of politics. Despite pious protestations from the President that misery was no field for partisan politics, ingrained habits could not so easily be eradicated; pickings were too rich. Surrenders for strategic reasons were made here and there. In some communities, staffs and clients were merely pawns in a political game. The decent popular impulses, that might have condoned mistakes honestly made, were revolted by the rotten spots in a program dedicated to high human purpose. In many areas of American life, social work and social workers were thus discredited and the public came to believe that social welfare was "just another racket."

Past history? Perhaps. But it explains why, with the present business slump, the public has so little stomach for fresh offerings. And what is the situation today, with needs no less urgent and nearly as great as at the peak? After almost ten years of activity—part of it forward and part in

1912 — SIX SIGNIFICANT BOOKS — 1937

Vocational Guidance

Listed by MARY H. S. HAYES

National Youth Administration

PSYCHOLOGY OF VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT, by Harry D. Kitson. Lippincott. 1925.

Because of the high quality of its general presentation of the field and philosophy of vocational guidance.

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT: PRINCIPLES, PRACTICES AND POINT OF VIEW, by W. D. Scott and R. C. Clothier. McGraw-Hill. Second edition, 1931.

Because of its excellent treatment of the procedures of industrial personnel administration and guidance.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE, a volume of the report of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Century. 1932.

Because it represents the most comprehensive expert survey we have of the field of guidance.

INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY, by Morris S. Viteles. Norton. 1932.

Because of its comprehensive and reliable treatment of the use of scientific measurements in vocational guidance.

THE ADJUSTMENT SERVICE: A REPORT OF AN EXPERIMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION, by Jerome H. Bentley and Associates. Ten Volumes. American Association for Adult Education. 1935.

Because of its outstanding description and appraisal of the various phases of a guidance service, including a cost-accounting.

1937 BOOK

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS, by Walter M. Kotschnig. Oxford University Press. 1937.

Because it represents a type of study very important for vocational guidance purposes.

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reverse—we find ourselves with an uncertain program which has little acceptance and less support. What are the answers? Give more of the same? Nobody wants it. Let them starve? They won't cooperate! Throw the whole thing over? Too much danger in that; not for them, but for us. Consider what has happened in other lands when millions lacked bread, and hope. We can't risk that here, especially with that mounting number of young people emerging into a world that has no place for them—five hundred thousand and more each year. Here is the very fodder on which dictators grow great. Our little fuehrers are already in practice. Democracy has no great appeal for discouraged rebellious youth; for workless and hungry men.

There's only one way out. We'll have to go back and start over again, and it's not going to be as easy as it was at first. More resistances and resentments to overcome; people more hardboiled. Pretty phrases won't do; only facts, and reasons that carry conviction. But it can be done. We can have a sound program here with decent standards and good administration. We can get people to support it, but first we'll have to prove that it's worth what it costs.

We Americans can and do protect ourselves against risks of communicable disease. We maintain police and fire departments because we fear lawlessness and conflagration. We pay through the nose for education (a little hazy as to what we want—or get) because we know the danger to democracy of ignorance. We have all these safeguards because in each community there were some who believed they were worth fighting for. Now the word must go forth and go forth again, that we cannot and must not close our eyes to the threat of millions who lack security, who lack hope; that we must accept the challenge and be prepared to pay the costs, heavy though they may seem. We are paying them now, though we do not always identify the account on which the checks are drawn. We can postpone the program but that only means we'll be paying for it anyway without getting values in return. One way we build assets, the other liabilities.

THIS time we must offer the public an honest program, well planned and charted. It must be a program that faces realities, that recognizes the fact that people must eat, whether you list them as employables or unemployables; that they need clothes, whether they are married or single; that they must have a place of shelter, regardless of their color; that they suffer sickness and death even though they may be ineligible for relief. For ten years the mighty minds in both public and private welfare have been too concerned with great problems to face such simple facts. For ten years they have been ostriching, not remembering that an ostrich's tail makes a much better target than its head.

Any new program must be based on a clear delineation of function and acceptance of responsibility between public and private agencies on the one hand, and federal, state and local divisions on the other. Perhaps federal assistance and some measure of federal control may be necessary throughout the program. The unhappy plight of those from whom the mantle of Washington was withdrawn as compared to those it still covers shows that "neighborliness" wilts beneath the onslaught of resentful taxpayers. Who believes that unemployment compensation, old age assistance or aid to dependent children could have reached present proportions without federal support? With all their inadequacies, these services shine resplendent compared to local relief. The tragedy of unemployables unable to get relief, and of employables rejected by WPA shows that "local autonomy" is but an empty phrase when used, not to accept local responsibility, but to evade it.

The minimum requirement of any public program should be to provide basic material needs. Even this minimum is not now being met. In many places standards are keyed to a level of chronic malnutrition; in others, whole categories are denied any assistance at all. Why delude ourselves with visions of programs of "opportunity for a complete life" when we are not yet dealing adequately with the problem of hunger?

I know that federal participation begets problems of its own; but if our purpose is to afford real security and protection to the helpless these difficulties are less to be feared than indifference and neglect.

PERHAPS a good starting point would be to scrap some of our present absurd categories. If we have learned anything these last few years it is the futility of hard and fast lines. We have seen that nature refuses to accept our dictum that senility starts on the stroke of sixty-five. We have learned that only jobs—not intake secretaries—can determine who is employable, and how. We need wastebaskets for eligibility rules whose main service is to establish ineligibility, and for policies that glorify the virtues of "half a loaf" in a country where there is bread enough for all.

The bedrock of the program must be that society cannot avoid responsibility for those whom it maims or rejects nor for those it leaves jobless. All of them; not just part of them, as now. We have reached the point where we admit that mothers can do a better job than institutions. We reject almshouses as an unworthy end for the aged. We support the blind and the crippled, but we gag at responsibility for those whose muscles are still strong and whose powers are still vigorous. If men are stricken physically, we hospitalize them; if they are stricken mentally, we institutionalize them; but if they are stricken "employably" we kick them around from pillar to post in a vain attempt to pass the buck.

America needs a fresh slant on the whole program. Most of all, it needs to wake up to the vast potentialities in its unused manpower. Here is a veritable Genie, ready to shower on the nation things everybody wants and needs, more abundantly than would otherwise be possible. We have been conditioned to the idea that labor is effectively employed only when its products bring monetary gain. Ridiculous! Labor is no less usefully employed when producing goods or services that society needs even though such products cannot be sold. Some dividends cannot be cashed at the bank. Suppose the ten or twelve million unemployed men and women could by some miracle suddenly be placed on the payrolls of factories making paper chrysanthemums or beaded lampshades which somebody could be persuaded to buy, would there be any to deplore the squandering of labor on the one side or the frittering of income on the other? "Increased production means gain in national wealth." Haven't we all heard it a thousand times? But suggest that these same ten or twelve millions be put to work building schools, roads, sewers, or low cost housing; "The national income is being squandered." Use them for teaching, for servicing libraries or playgrounds, for beauti-

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fying public buildings; "We're headed for bankruptcy." Let them provide recreation through theaters, or orchestras, or dance-halls; "Pampering the inefficient." What a cock-eyed world!

Let's start fresh. Let's view labor and the men behind labor as a joint asset of the nation and industry, to be drawn on according to needs. When industry is active, we must yield to its more pressing demands. When it slackens, that is the time to borrow some of its workers to make up arrears in public structures and services. Men and their labor are too precious to be wasted. Every unit can be used to increase national wealth. Take roads as one of the simplest examples. Every mile built benefits the whole nation, not just those who traverse it. It cuts the cost of distributing the products that roll over it. It increases the usefulness of automobiles and enlarges the market for them. It stimulates employment both in factories that make cars and those industries that supply the materials. It makes countless jobs for chauffeurs, gas-station attendants, oil refiners, workers in tire factories, hot-dog venders, scenic desecrators, cooks and waiters in vacation resorts hundreds of miles away. So does every useful public project add to the welfare, the comfort or the protection of us all. We can use many more great dams and bridges, and a limitless number of schools, hospitals, playgrounds, theaters, libraries and training schools. Yes, and prisons, too, unfortunately.

One way or another we can and must provide work for all who can labor, just as we must provide support for those who cannot. Not easy to organize; not cheap to maintain; not a panacea; but better than spending eleven billion dollars and getting only a national headache. The country can be sold on such a program if there's leadership, direction and unity behind it.

WE must try to prove to America that there's more than a dollar return for every dollar the plan would cost. Strip it of emotional appeal if you will; admit frankly that it's a subsidy, a subvention for national defense, like battleships and tanks. Social security is the essence of national security. We're enlarging our program for an army and navy to ward off a danger from without, perhaps less menacing than the danger from within. The subsidy for social welfare may have to be increased. We are paying subsidies now for this and that and everything else. We started our railroads that way. Industry is subsidized by tariffs; farmers by soil conservation payments. We subsidize our merchant marine and our air lines. We subsidize veterans who fought, and those who came no nearer a battle line than Jersey City. We subsidize state universities, public health, Indians. Our whole economic system rests on this public participation. A subsidy for employment—not unemployment—would provide increased purchasing power for the products of industry and agriculture. Our foreign markets have been lost and the domestic markets not expanded to take up the slack; nor can they be, with millions out of work and millions more with bare subsistence incomes. The average per capita income of the country last year was just above $500; some areas were below $400, in nine states less than $300, and remember that these averages include the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Mellons, and the rest of the "60." Until increased incomes provide greater mass purchasing power, our factories will continue on part time and workers must remain idle. Public works and public services that would provide employment for all who can labor may stimulate a demand that would restore industry to greater operation again. Many trace the present depression to the slackening of federal expenditures last year. America now is a twelve-cylinder car with four cut out—a drag on the rest. The whole country, except Washington, is running on part time. Sharing work isn't the answer; increasing work may be.

Perhaps we might make acceptance of the program easier by the simple device of a change in our national bookkeeping. Since balancing the budget has become our great fetish, why not keep our public books as private books are kept? Instead of charging permanent improvements such as dams, postoffices, roads and hospitals to operating expenses, let the government set them up as "Plant and Equipment" just as private industry does. Treat them as assets instead of liabilities, for such they are. Perhaps such a simple change in our bookkeeping methods might end this bugaboo, and cure the insomnia of some of our business Jeremiahs.

ASSUMING that our premise is sound and an integrated work and assistance program essential, we're still a long way from getting it. Everybody wants peace, too! Who is to sponsor such a program? Not industry. The "voice of business," which is by no means synonymous with the brains of business, will stridently resist it. And of course it will face opposition from that section of the press which like a barometer, always registers a "low" when there's depression among its advertisers. Nor can we count on much help from agriculture. Farmers so long have been subsidized by a surplus of cheap labor that they may resist any change. Who then is to sponsor the cause? Not welfare workers, but labor! Labor employed and labor unemployed. Workers have learned a bitter lesson during the past few years. Business cycles now mean more to them than lines on a chart. Downward swings of the curve that to economists mean but a minus deflection from the norm, to them spell disaster.

Already labor is lining up its forces. The two great union camps, divided on many lines, are fusing here, and to their voices will be added those of unorganized labor, and those on relief vainly seeking work. Only the ground swell is now apparent; the movement is still slow but gains strength day by day. When it reaches full volume its pressure will be resistless. Recall how the G.A.R. and the American Legion drove through their programs; their numbers were small compared to those here involved. Labor will demand a program and labor will obtain it. It can be opposed, it can be retarded, but it cannot be stopped. We of the welfare groups can move forward in step if we will, and perhaps help in counsel, but the battle will be fought and won, I hope, by labor.

And all America will benefit, for the nation will conserve its most valuable and most perishable resources—men. We have had far too little regard for men as men. Much more for machines; but at best, machines can only multiply the efficiency of men, not substitute for them. Machines can be replaced, plants can be rebuilt, acres can be replanted, but the deterioration of wasted men is a progressing liability. This cannot be charged off to obsolescence nor sold as scrap. They must be kept in the balance sheet. For men are husbands, men are fathers, men are citizens. Men form our society. Men support our democracy. Men make America. Until their human needs are met, America's budget will never balance.

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Just an Innocent Bystander

By MARGARET FARLOW

ONCE again, for the severalth of a number of campaigns, our community fund has fallen short of raising the money its member social agencies require. A few years ago I probably should have agreed with my professional social worker associates that the giving public did not "understand," that in its blindness it failed to see why it should give to private agencies when the government was pouring vast sums into social services. But I am no longer a professional social worker; I am a "lady" of sorts, who gets around with contributors, board members and volunteers in their "off the record" moments. In this new capacity I have been observing of late the reaction of the contributing group to the "ways," big and little, of our social agencies and social workers, and I am convinced that the answer to our mounting deficit is not so simple as "Uncle Sam's doing it." I am convinced that at least a part of the reason for diminishing contributions can be found in the gradual but steady shrinking of opportunity for active lay participation in the actual work of the agencies. As social workers have become more expert and professional, the role of the layman, board member or volunteer worker, has narrowed, until now, with few exceptions, it is limited to "busy work," to dull routines which inspire no enthusiasm and make small claim on intelligence.

These are harsh words I know and already I can hear the answers, nicely turned phrases that clothe the realities I hear about when social workers aren't around. One answer of course is that most contributors do not want any active participation in social work. That, I agree, is quite true, within certain limitations. Many—probably most—of the large contributions to our fund come from wealthy individuals and business and industrial firms that give as a traditional duty, personal or civic. These contributions continue, rising or falling according to personal or business conditions. It is not of these I sing; four and five figure gifts are important but they are not the backbone of the fund either in dollars or in good will.

The failure or success of the fund must depend, as I see it, on the relatively small contributors, the thousands and thousands of people who can give $25 to $200. These contributions usually represent some sacrifice on the part of the donors, a sacrifice that can be expected to continue year after year only if the donors are firmly convinced of the value of the services to which they are giving. It is the interest of this group, I am persuaded by hearing the talk at any number of luncheons, club meetings and other social gatherings, which is slipping to an extent clearly visible in campaign results.

In the years before public relief attained its present proportions it was relatively easy to get money by appeals pointed up with pathetic pictures, verbal and photographic, of ragged, big-eyed children and wan-faced mothers. But the time for all that is past and the fund knows it. The most moving stories now bring growls about taxes and Harry Hopkins and a sharply reduced contribution, if not a flat refusal. Painstaking explanation of services other than relief, more and better publicity, overcome some of the resistance but apparently succeed in bringing forth say $10 from a citizen who a few years ago cheerfully gave $100—this not necessarily because he has less to give but because he is less impressed with the need for which he gives.

The impact of the enlarged public welfare services unquestionably has changed the giving habits of Mr. and Mrs. Average Citizen, a fact that for several years has been a headache for local budget and campaign committees. How to cope with it has engaged, not to say baffled, the best efforts. One of these efforts, rather widely practiced, is to carry to laymen understanding of social work, its philosophy, purpose and methods, through classes, lectures and informal talks before various organizations. Of course this reaches a relatively small number of people, but they in turn are supposed to carry the light to their friends, gradually widening the economic middle-brackets group to which privately supported social work looks for financial and moral backing. To extend this group, to keep it friendly, convinced of the value of the work, must be a part of every social agency program. When financial support begins to wane it becomes apparent that the group is either too small or not sufficiently informed and interested.

ANOTHER effort aims to "bring back" the volunteer. Here with us, as elsewhere, much time and energy has been put into plans to give volunteers more understanding of the social welfare program, to deepen their interest and hence to enhance the usefulness of their services. It is generally agreed that people are most interested in the things they work for, and social agencies always have stressed their need for volunteers and their ability to utilize volunteer services. In theory this is all right, and before social work became so highly specialized and professionalized it worked very successfully. But looking over the services now assigned to volunteers, it is not difficult for me to understand why few of those volunteers I know express any genuine interest or satisfaction in the work they do. They have taken the prescribed courses of lectures, done the recommended reading—well, some of it—and visited the agencies on the list. They are, presumably, "informed and intelligent."

And then what? What are the "useful services" for which the training course has prepared them? Well, one bright young woman of my acquaintance was set to checking lists for invitations to a benefit performance; another was set to counting cards in a dispensary, all the blue cards in one total, the pink in another and so on. She never knew why. But most of the "informed and intelligent" volunteers are assigned to the driving service, which, to hear them talk, seems to represent the bone-yard of volunteer aspirations. Hours of driving service and numbers of volunteers signed up and available for emergency calls or regular duty make impressive reading in the reports on volunteer work. But how much actual value is there? Years ago, when cars were scarce and efficient drivers were few, there was some reason for it but at the present time it is pretty difficult for an intelligent, normally busy woman to feel very keenly interested in serving as chauffeur to an able-bodied social worker who owns and drives a car herself. Nor does it seem to her that she is making much of a contribution to the

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social progress of her community when she sits in the car and does a cross-word puzzle while the social worker is making her calls.

A friend of mine, holding forth on this the other day at a luncheon party, told of acquiring an expensive case of pleurisy from waiting in near-zero weather while the social worker had a cozy cup of tea with the client in the interest of better rapport. "I hate to seem critical," she said, "but I really can't see any sense in it. I want to do something useful in my community but why on earth should I put myself through that sort of thing? I would give my time gladly if I could see that it meant anything, but all I did actually was to contribute a few gallons of gasoline. The social worker did not need anything else I had to offer and for all the interest I had in the errands we did, or for all my—as they say—'participation in the work of the society,' I might as well have been delivering telegrams for Western Union."

ANOTHER woman laughed. "I used to drive 'em around too, but I've been promoted. Now I take girls to the clinic. It seems there's a rule that girls under age must be accompanied by an adult, so I go and sit and sit and sit. The girls are usually sixteen or seventeen years old and know their way around the city and the clinic better than I do. All arrangements are made by telephone before we go. All I ever know about it is what the girl herself happens to tell me, and the only notice anyone ever takes of me is to verify the fact that the girl was accompanied. But still I go and sit. Of course there may be a good reason for this rule; but I wish I could find out what it is. I've asked but no one seems to know."

A third woman in the group said flatly, "I stopped all that long ago. Maybe I am not capable of doing anything but acting as chauffeur and guide but in that case I know more interesting ways to spend my time. If these are the only jobs the social agencies can find for us, why don't they call on clients for such assistance as they need and tell us frankly that they have no place for us. I can find plenty of activity in club work that really means something to me and I believe to the community. We always have contributed to the community fund but my husband says he doesn't see why we should go on. We pay taxes to support people in need and the rest of it does not show results worth what they cost. In spite of all this talk about social betterment, can you really show me that there is any less delinquency or any better opportunity for the children of poverty-stricken parents than there always has been?"

It was disturbing to listen to this kind of talk from intelligent, public-spirited women, active and influential in community work. Of the dozen women at the table, at least eight had attended classes for volunteers and had given time and service to one agency or another. Yet not one of them spoke up to defend the welfare program of the community. Those who still were working seemed to be doing so from a sense of duty or habit, or because they hoped they were being effective even if they were not quite sure about it. None of them seemed to value the experience for themselves or to feel any genuine interest in it.

I remember a meeting, ten or twelve years ago, of an organization that I belonged to in this same city. Almost two hundred busy enthusiastic members, each one an active volunteer, listened to the experiences of several of their number who told of their work, the new interest and happiness it had brought them and the new direction it had given to their thinking. True, there was a good deal of sentimentality in their talks, but here and there was some pretty sound social thinking, and all through a lot of genuine interest and heart-warming enthusiasm.

In line with modern trends in social work, this organization now is staffed with paid workers and the participation of the members is reduced to driving cars, raising money, and listening to reports. Perhaps professionalization is necessary to secure the best results—and then again perhaps in the process we have lost something irreplaceable.

"You would think," said an attractive elderly woman at another luncheon party, "that unless a person is a trained social worker she is likely to demoralize completely anybody she even tries to help. Many times in the past ten years I have been told, kindly but firmly, that I must not interest myself in actual cases. All I am fit for apparently is to drive a car and run errands related in some way to the plans made by a 'trained' girl, probably just out of college. I wouldn't trust her to do any planning in my life, I can tell you, but I've heard the word 'trained' until I'm afraid to speak in the presence of anyone with that sacred aura. Their case records read mighty pretty, but looking over the folks they work with, I don't see that they accomplish so much more than we did in the days when we took a neighborly interest in people in trouble and did the best we could for them. But don't think the 'trained' girls admit it! No siree; their system is to diagnose the case as situation No. 7 which calls for the application of Rule No. 10, and anything that happens after that is no fault of theirs. If *we* failed it was because we were untrained; if *they* fail, it's because the case is hopeless. You can't beat a system like that."

"IT occurs to me," I said, "that in my dim past when I was a professional case worker for a private agency, a lot of those rules and policies were made by the board members, lay people like yourself. I even remember being slapped on the wrist a time or two for interpreting some of the rules a bit too freely. After all, professional social workers are employes, controlled by groups of representative people in the community. If you don't like their methods, why don't you do something about it?"

The whole table hooted derisively. One woman offered to tell me the facts of life and the truth about Santa Claus. They all tried to talk at once, but one younger woman, a graduate of a good woman's college and successful in business, got the floor. She started with the simple statement that she regarded organized social work as a racket, and she went right on from there. It was her contention that social workers are concerned primarily with gaining recognition of their professional status, that they have no ingrained conviction of the worth, in any broad sense, of the things they do. She related some of her trials as a board member and concluded with: "The whole thing has become so standardized that nobody dares to have an idea unless it has been approved by the American Association of Social Workers. The executives corral a few of us in a committee room, overwhelm us with high-powered language and patronize any suggestions we make until we give up and agree to anything.

"But we get even with them when we decide on the size of our contribution to the community fund—don't overlook that! Our social thinking may be pretty terrible in spots, but like the tourists in the art gallery, we know what we

(*Continued on page* 180)

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like, and if we don't get it, we don't have to pay for it. And if you will notice the reports of the fund for the past few years, you will see that we are not paying for it as we used to.

"The high-powered social workers can get together in their meetings and make their rules, they may even put their rules over in committee and board meetings, but they are *not* making us like it. The closer they bind themselves together to work as professionals, rather than as intelligent employes paid by the people of the community to help solve social problems, the further they get from their source of supply—the cooperation and support of the general public. The women of this city who helped organize these social agencies in the first place, who thought and planned and worked for years to get somewhere in serving social needs, are not being replaced and it was their faith and effort that made any of this work possible. The paid workers used to think with the laymen, not for them, and the current of antagonism and skepticism that is manifest today between workers and laymen simply did not exist."

Every woman in the group contributed a word of agreement. It was evident that even the board members and active volunteer workers felt that the case had been fairly stated.

Prompt to seize the opportunity was a member of the League of Women Voters with the idea that we should leave social work, including its financing, to the social workers, and should devote such time, effort, and money as we can spare to gaining political strength for promoting legislation for social betterment. She had some pretty good arguments too.

Oh Come Now, Mrs. Farlow

. . . make her own interests . . .

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Of course, some of the things Mrs. Farlow quotes are ludicrous, such as the statement by a business woman that she regarded "organized social work as a racket."

It is perhaps natural that a trained social worker who has put in some time on her education and is doing an eight-hour a day job should feel that the volunteer cannot have as much experience or as good judgment as she has, even though in age she may be a mere baby in comparison with that volunteer.

And it is also true that social workers, if they wish to get the understanding and sympathy of the community for their work, must give the volunteers things to do which will put them in actual touch with the people whom they are trying to help. Here the social worker falls short by forgetting that her job is not ended when she has done the best she can about solving some problem. The social worker must educate her community and there is no way of educating a community except by showing as many of its people as possible what conditions are among the underprivileged and how the conditions are being dealt with.

As Mrs. Farlow points out, this cannot be done by offering people "busy work." However, volunteer workers can do something for themselves to give their tasks more con-

(*Continued on page* 182)

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tent. I know a volunteer who has driven a car in a rural community for both the public health nurse and the doctor making his "free" calls. Her work has become very interesting because of her capacity for taking responsibility and for being interested in people. She not only has taken people to hospitals but she has kept in touch with them and followed them back into their homes, doing many things which the social worker could not have done. She has made life more possible for the nurse and doctor on their rounds. When she knew that they were tired she managed to bring along food and coffee or tea to cheer and revive them.

On her driving assignments she has gone into the homes and talked to members of the family who were not being interviewed by the social worker, the nurse or the doctor. She has seen many needs which the professionals could not fill and she has filled them herself. She has carried back a hundred suggestions for other volunteers; she has made her organization itself more useful.

Granted that social workers may be intolerant, that they may not do their share to interest the community, still in the long run it is the job of the volunteer to make her own interests and to find out how she can be helpful. If you have the intelligence and the proper spirit there always are ways in which you can make yourself useful both to the "case" and to the trained social worker.

. . . a signal of danger . . .

ALLEN T. BURNS, *executive vice-president, Community Chests and Councils, Inc.*

WHILE the results of chest campaigns have been steadily growing for the past three years, making Mrs. Farlow's reference to "mounting deficits" somewhat unrepresentative, it is true that the agencies' requirements and hopes are still ahead of community support. She is on still more solid ground in pointing out that gifts in the middle brackets have been shrinking, the most striking decrease having been in the $100-$249 class. While the largest ($5000 and over) and the smallest (from $25 down) actually amount to more than they did in 1929, the amount received in medium-sized gifts has shrunk. Possibly Mrs. Farlow has found one of the reasons.

Of course it is absurd for social agencies to make chauffeurs and no more out of intelligent volunteers. Such a waste is, I believe, only a temporary by-product of the increasing professionalization of social work. In medicine and public health, the role of the "professional" has been so much more generally accepted that we do not hear Mrs. Farlow's friends complaining that hospitals are a racket. They do not ask to be allowed to diagnose and operate, or else. . . . They would probably agree that while there is a definite place for the volunteer in providing hospital care, it is not in the operating room.

The community chests and councils themselves have so many jobs for volunteers, both men and women, and use them so constantly, that none of this potential energy should go to waste—provided the persons are competent and willing to work with others. An interesting outgrowth of volunteer fund raising for the chest is the informational project, sometimes called the women's crusade. Volunteers call on newcomers to the city, address clubs, produce plays, conduct tours to agencies, and do a variety of other work. Committees of women in Cincinnati, for example, made studies of the thirty-two agencies for the general budget committee. It is no paradox that the most successful proj-

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ects have been those which were carried on with professional cooperation.

The wise use of volunteer interest which is being made in many cities, stimulated by a good central volunteer bureau, where there is one, makes the indictment far from universally true. As a signal of danger, however, I trust it will be heeded.

. . . true, but far from hopeless . . .

MARY B. WHITE, *volunteer, Chicago Commons.*

MRS. FARLOW'S observations are all too true, but the situation seems to me far from hopeless. I have been both a volunteer and a professional worker. I feel that there is a place for volunteers even in case work agencies, where they fit less obviously than in group work.

Visits to uncomplicated cases could be made by volunteers just as they are made by untrained "aides" in public relief agencies. Old age assistance divisions are becoming aware of the real service volunteers can give to clients who appreciate personal contacts. School reports, where actual visits to the teachers are necessary, are good assignments for former teachers. Sometimes a client's inability to manage her household presents a problem. Why not call in a volunteer who has managed her own home efficiently, to help with a schedule?

The women Mrs. Farlow mentioned seemed to think going to the clinics a waste of time. I have known some clients who had to be taken to the psychiatric clinic, if they went at all. The conversation of such clients is often very enlightening. A volunteer with a good memory and a capacity for listening might record much that would be helpful to the worker and psychiatrist.

This is by no means a complete category of opportunities; but all of these services seem useful to the agencies and interesting to volunteers. In spite of objections which might be raised, I am sure the results in increased community interest justify the efforts of trained workers to use untrained assistants.

. . . program must be planned . . .

DOROTHY S. BOWLES, *chairman, National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work.*

IT is certainly true that as social work has become more professional, the opportunities for volunteer service have become more limited, at least for the beginning or the temporary volunteer. For the volunteer who really wants to give regular and generous amounts of time, the average agency, it seems to me, still has a place and in most instances its staff is glad to give supervision and teaching.

Any volunteer service program must be planned, however, and in many instances the disappointment of the volunteer could be avoided through a more careful selection of applicants and more suitable assignments.

Complaints about dull routine jobs sometimes are well-founded but they would be more constructive if addressed to the agency itself. The agency would be wise to put a member of its staff in charge of the volunteer program and to encourage meetings for discussion between volunteers and staff.

The private agencies, to survive, must do a good job of interpreting their work. It occurs to me that they also must do a sympathetic job of interpreting the work of the public agency. The idea that "Uncle Sam is doing it" may cause individuals to decrease their gifts to private agencies,

(*Continued on page* 185)

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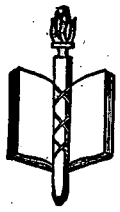

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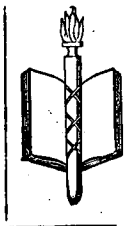

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(*Continued from page* 183)

but it is the feeling that "'Uncle Sam is taking our money and doing a bad job of spending it" that most irks the public. Private agencies, in an effort to show the value of their work, sometimes unconsciously underestimate or frankly talk down the work of the public agency. If contributors to private agencies could be given a little more understanding of the public agencies and could be convinced that both public and private effort is needed, they would be in a more sympathetic frame of mind toward giving to private agencies.

. . . imagination, patience and time . . .

DOROTHY BROWN, *director of volunteer service, Chicago Council of Social Agencies.*
FLORENCE NESBITT, *assistant general superintendent, United Charities, Chicago.*

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"Of course it's obvious that Mrs. Farlow is writing about case work agencies," said Mrs. Brown. "She isn't talking about hospitals or settlements, where enormous numbers of volunteers are being used so successfully."

"Is that why you brought it to me? Well, speaking for a family service agency, if we can't make better use of laymen than that, we'd better not use them at all. It's true that since the development of professional social work the place of the volunteer has shifted . . ."

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"From the 'friendly visitors' who gave advice on case work, to the advisory committee that is keenly interested in the broader aspects of our job: housing, recreational opportunities and medical care, for example."

"Oh, *committees,*" Mrs. Brown's face fell. "I wasn't thinking of your district committees. Isn't that a more or less perfunctory service?"

"I should say not! The 160 men and women who work in our ten districts are important and busy people. We couldn't hold their interest a week if they hadn't a real job to do. They get out in the neighborhoods and really study the way our families live. They manage our sewing rooms, visit public hospitals and the courts, and get vacant lots cleaned up for playgrounds."

"What about the falling off in contributions that Mrs. Farlow mentions? Have you noticed that?"

"Our budget is bigger than it was before the depression. Last year we took less from the community fund because we received more individual gifts."

"But what about the volunteer who 'wants to work with people'? Can she still find a place in the family agency?"

"She can, and she does. One of our volunteers has been working with the same family for years. It's a family that doesn't need a case worker now as much as it needs a friend, especially as there are exceptional children for whom our volunteer has been able to get the opportunities

(*Continued on page* 186)

On Press

AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS
FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

Compiled by Bertha F. Hulseman

THIS useful directory, which has been out of print for several years, has been revised as of April 1938. It includes, so far as available, incorporated name, address, full statement of purpose, and amount of the established fund of 159 foundations; 30 community trusts are also listed. *Ready late in May, 50 cents.*

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THE RHYTHM
OF STERILITY AND FERTILITY IN WOMEN

Discussion of the Physiological, Practical and Ethical Aspects of the Discoveries of Drs. K. Ogino (Japan) and H. Knaus (Austria) Regarding the Periods When Conception is Impossible and When Possible.

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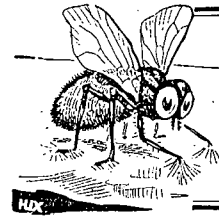

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715 E. St., S. W.,
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Western Region
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The Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau, through its experience in advising over 64,000 patients, has had a unique opportunity to develop clinical standards and techniques, to promote research, and to encourage recognition of birth control in all public health programs.

America's Pioneer Birth Control Clinic
1923 - 1938

(*Continued from page* 185)

they deserve. She met the mother in our sewing room, in a perfectly natural way. Do you know, I think one of our greatest difficulties comes right there. It's important that the contact between the volunteer and the family should be a natural and gracious one. You can't just dump another person into the family circle, which already has had to assimilate one stranger in the case worker."

"Could you make more opportunities of this kind?"

"We could, and we should. It takes imagination and patience and time, but I know it's important. And it's perfectly possible. Our cases aren't all the kind that nobody can touch."

. . . sit down together and plan . . .

EVELYN K. DAVIS, *assistant director, National Organization for Public Health Nursing; vice-chairman, National Committee on Volunteers in Social Work.*

HAVING worked with both professionals and laymen for nine years trying to develop joint participation, I recognize many of the problems Mrs. Farlow raises.

Unwillingness to give the volunteer interesting and challenging jobs or to explain why a job needs to be done, and a complete unawareness that the board member and volunteer are not familiar with professional verbiage are characteristics too prevalent among the professional workers.

1912 — SIX SIGNIFICANT BOOKS — 1937

Public Health Nursing

Listed by DOROTHY DEMING
National Organization for Public Health Nursing

PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING, by Mary Sewall Gardner, R.N., M.A. Macmillan. Third Edition. 1936.

Because it remains the most comprehensive discussion of the evolution, principles and practices of public health nursing.

INDUSTRIAL NURSING, by Florence Swift Wright, R.N. Macmillan. 1919.

Because it was the first recognition of the possibility of using the nurse in industry.

BOARD MEMBERS' MANUAL, by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing. Macmillan. Second Edition. 1937.

Because it implements the fundamental principle that public health nursing shall be sponsored by a representative community group.

SURVEY OF PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING, by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing. Commonwealth Fund. 1934.

Because it was the first comprehensive attempt to evaluate existing practices.

SCHOOL NURSING, by Mary Ella Chayer, R.N., A.M. Putnam. Revised. 1937.

Because it interprets the newer concept of school nursing as a contribution to health education.

1937 BOOK

PERSONNEL POLICIES IN PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING, by Marian G. Randall, R.N. Macmillan.

Because it analyzes personnel practices in official agencies at a time of unprecedented expansion of public health nursing.

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On the other hand, the professional's lack of enthusiasm for assigning responsible jobs to volunteers is due sometimes to previous poor luck with them. The serious and challenging jobs that the layman would like to do require much more time and definite continuous service than a volunteer may wish to give.

In the field of social welfare, we two, layman and professional, seem to have lost the art of sitting down together and working out the program jointly. Laymen comprise the group most concerned as to whether the community is being served and their neighbors are being given adequate care. Dealing with welfare problems requires people with training and skills. Agencies to employ skills need support. Support comes from the whole community through the efforts of the laymen. If laymen do not have a vital part in an agency program, it is up to the board and staff to sit down together and plan ways in which they can participate.

. . . horseback opinions . . .

ANNA F. MCGLOTHLAN, *former president, Missouri Association for Social Welfare*

GRANTING that the American Association of Social Workers may have attempted to gain professional status a bit too rapidly, I think Mrs. Farlow has not made the point she seems to have set out to make; that whatever is wrong with a community's social program is the fault of social workers. Before discussing reasons for what she considers a breakdown in contributing to community funds, she should have looked at the records of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. She would have found several errors in her horseback opinions, an important one being that the general trend of giving is now upward instead of downward. To be sure the chest in Mrs. Farlow's city may be an exception.

Of course it is true, as she says, that social work and social agencies began with laymen, that eventually community needs became too numerous and their treatment too complicated for Mr. and Mrs. Average Citizen to deal with as a leisure time project. Therefore, persons were employed on a full time basis to do the actual work. These persons are gradually learning to approach the problems of human need and their treatment from a scientific standpoint. But in many communities the lay people were all too eager to shift responsibility for treatment to the paid employes and to forget the problems—though they remained the common problem of all the citizens.

Thank God not all citizens were so willing to let "George" do all the thinking and planning, as well as the actual day-by-day labor. In communities where the citizens were concerned with the causes of human distress, the best methods of prevention and the development of a healthy responsible citizenry, the laymen and the social workers joined hands for a community program.

Communities and states are becoming aware more and more that the prevention and cure of human ills are everyone's concern, that the social agencies are the machinery which the citizens set up to do their work and that the social workers are the servants whom they employ to share in the planning and to keep the machinery working smoothly and effectively.

No layman who ever has worked in a cooperative venture of social planning for his community doubts that there are certain principles underlying the various processes

(*Continued on page* 189)

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for National Conference of Social Workers

● Leaving New York June 22; Chicago June 23. Via the Burlington water-level route between Chicago and St. Paul, thence over the Great Northern with stopover at Glacier National Park.

Write for full details including information on return routings via Yellowstone, Colorado, Black Hills and Dude Ranches *without additional fare.*

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With the assistance of several railroads, arrangements have been made for special through trains to carry social workers, their friends and associated groups to the Seattle Conference in June.

The first schedule permits a one-day visit to GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, arriving at Seattle on the opening day of the Conference. The second provides special cars for the use of Associate Groups, scheduled to arrive at the Conference city at 8:00 A.M., Friday, June 24.

These services offer an attractive opportunity to friends and fellow workers to renew old friendships and make new acquaintances while traveling through several of America's most beautiful states.

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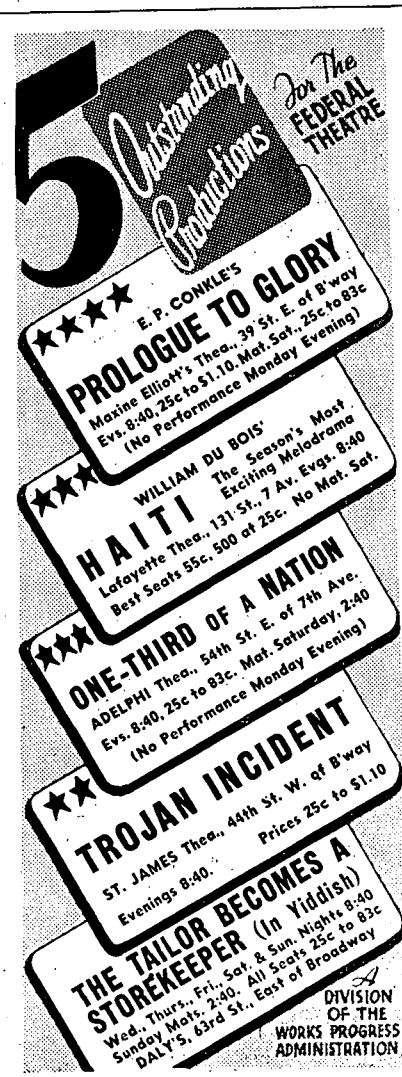
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A DIVISION OF THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

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(*Continued from page* 187)

employed to prevent and to treat human ills that are understood better by the professional than by the layman, and that there are certain things that laymen cannot do. Such a layman knows, too, that the social agencies of his community get results because, in partnership with the professional, he is on the job to see that they do.

It is my private opinion, publicly expressed, that if Mr. and Mrs. Average Citizen had been one-hundredth part as alert to the needs of their fellow citizens as the social workers have been, or as sincere and diligent in carrying their share of the planning, our present social problems might be much nearer solution.

Haven't you noticed, Mrs. Farlow, that when a person or a community fails it is human nature to lay the blame at somebody's door other than our own? Let's not any of us "clothe realities" in "nicely turned phrases."

. . . mice or men . . .

MARY K. DABNEY, *Cleveland Junior League; secretary of board, Goodrich House, Cleveland.*

MRS. FARLOW makes a serious charge against social work; at least it would be serious if the conditions she describes so amusingly were generally characteristic. No doubt some of the evils she sees exist in some communities, but certainly not all of them in all communities. Am I wrong, Mrs. Farlow, in suspecting that you indulged in a little conscious exaggeration the better to expose occasional evils?

In our community we see no "shrinking opportunity for active lay participation" in social work; on the contrary the field broadens all the time. There is no limit to what an interested volunteer can do. To be sure it is a different kind of participation in many ways than that engaged in by our parents years ago, when they fought and bled over their pet charities, ran them, supported them, and paved the way for modern social work.

Today, as I see it, we are faced with a different but equally provocative opportunity. We no longer think in terms of building up one agency but of the whole community. Social planning is needed, with elimination, combination, and initiation of services. It seems to me that this must be done largely by lay people, who are naturally more disinterested than the executives. As a necessary training for this kind of participation in social work, the average volunteer needs personal experience in various types of agencies.

Mrs. Farlow's friends seem to have had very discouraging volunteer experiences, but the fault must lie partly with themselves. Are they "mice or men"? Any volunteer can go to her agency and ask for more interesting work. It can't be possible that a community of many agencies, such as Mrs. Farlow's seems to be, has nothing more stimulating to offer than clerical jobs and motor service. But an intelligent volunteer will not allow herself to be stuck with such jobs indefinitely. I have been a volunteer for more than ten years, and I've never had to do either of them except where they were incidental.

Being a very new profession social work still has growing pains, and its highest standards are not everywhere established. Furthermore, human nature being what it is, there are some social workers whom we all could wish had gone into some other field of activity. But on the whole I don't know of any profession which shows such a char-

(*Continued on page* 191)

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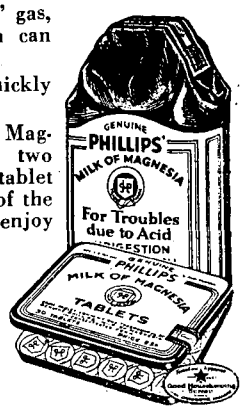

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NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION—50 West 50th Street, New York, Dr. Kendall Emerson, managing director. Pamphlets of methods and program for the prevention of tuberculosis. Publications sold and distributed through state associations in every state. American Review of Tuberculosis, medical journal, $8.00 a year; and Monthly Bulletin, house organ, free.

AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE—A clearing house cooperating with social workers in referring indigent mothers to medically directed birth control clinics in 42 states, including 19 centers in Greater New York. In areas lacking centers, qualified physicians are available. Phone or write: 515 Madison Avenue, New York City. WIckersham 2-8600. President: Richard N. Pierson, M.D. Medical Director: Eric M. Matsner, M.D.

THE WOMEN'S FIELD ARMY OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONTROL OF CANCER, 1250 Sixth Avenue, New York City. An educational group of lay women active in forty-three states under the supervision of physicians representing state medical societies. Information, literature, speakers, newspaper articles may be secured without charge.

New York City

THE BIRTH CONTROL CLINICAL RESEARCH BUREAU, 17 West 16th Street; MARGARET SANGER, Director; has added evening sessions, Wednesday and Thursday evenings from 7 to 9 P.M., for the benefit of mothers who work and cannot come to the Clinic daily from 9 to 4.

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Religious Organizations

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, INC.—1819 Broadway, New York City. Mrs. Arthur Brin, President; Mrs. Maurice L. Goldman, Chairman Ex. Com.; Mrs. Marion M. Miller, Executive Director. Organization of Jewish women initiating and developing programs and activities in service for foreign born, peace, social legislation, adult Jewish education, and social welfare. Conducts bureau of international service. Serves as clearing bureau for local affiliated groups throughout the country.

NATIONAL BOARD, YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS, 600 Lexington Ave., New York City. An international Christian woman movement devoted to service for women and girls and the attempt to help build a society in which the abundant life is possible for every individual.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS—347 Madison Avenue, New York City, Eskil C. Carlson, President; John E. Manley, General Secretary. A federation of 1123 local associations, through state and area councils, for Christian character education among youth. Meets annually to determine service projects and budget for cooperation with local member organizations in program emphasis and interpretation, fiscal operations, etc. Emphasizes lay-professional cooperation, group and club activity, and self-governing programs of physical, social and religious education, public affairs, international education and special cooperative projects, citizenship, etc. Specialized work among transportation, army and navy, student, colored, rural, and certain other groups.

EPISCOPAL SOCIAL WORK CONFERENCE—Brings together annually Episcopal social workers for fellowship, interchange of views, methods and experience. Promotes particularly cooperation of Church with social agencies. Is supervised by Social Service Department, National Council, Episcopal Church. Rev. Almon R. Pepper, Executive Secretary, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Proceedings available, 50c.

National Conferences

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK—Solomon Lowenstein, President, New York; Howard R. Knight, Secretary, 82 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio. The Conference is an organization to discuss the principles of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the Proceedings of the meeting, and issues a quarterly Bulletin. The sixty-fifth annual convention of the Conference will be held in Seattle, Washington, June 26 - July 2, 1938. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of $5.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH SOCIAL WELFARE — Harry Greenstein, Baltimore, President; M. W. Beckelman, Secretary, 67 W. 47th St., New York, N. Y. Organized to discuss Jewish life and welfare, Jewish social service programs and programs of social and economic welfare. The 1938 Annual Meeting will be held in Washington, D. C., beginning May 28. The Conference publishes a magazine, Jewish Social Service Quarterly, a news bulletin, Jewish Conference, and Proceedings of its Annual Conference. Minimum Annual Membership Fee $2.

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DIRECTORY OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Civic, National, International

National Red Cross

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS—Administered through National Headquarters in Washington, D. C., and three Branch Offices in San Francisco, St. Louis and Washington, D. C. There are 3711 local chapters organized mostly on a county basis. Services of the Red Cross are: Disaster Relief, Civilian Relief, First Aid and Life Saving, Home and Farm Accident Prevention Service, Home Hygiene and Care of the Sick, Junior Red Cross, Nursing Service, Nutrition Service, Public Health Nursing, Volunteer Service and War Service.

Industrial Democracy

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY—Promotes a better understanding of problems of democracy in industry through its pamphlet, research and lecture services and organization of college and city groups. Executive Directors, Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Racial Adjustment

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC., with its 44 branches improves social conditions of Negroes seeking "not alms, but opportunity" for them. Secures and trains social workers. Investigates conditions of city life as bases for practical work. Publishes OPPORTUNITY, Journal of Negro Life. Solicits gifts. 1133 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Community Chests

COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS, INC. 155 East 44th Street, New York. Information and consultation about cooperative planning and financing of social work through chests and councils of social agencies.

American City Bureau

THE AMERICAN CITY BUREAU, the Pioneer campaign organization of the United States, has just observed the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding. During this quarter century of continuous and successful operation, the BUREAU has been associated with the direction of almost 1600 financial and membership campaigns in all parts of the United States and Canada. There are 878 American cities with an individual population in excess of 25,000 and the ACB has assisted in campaigns in more than 700 of these.

For a number of years past, more than ninety per cent of the BUREAU'S annual volume of around 100 campaigns has been represented by repeat business — return engagements in cities in which it has previously served.

The BUREAU will consider it a privilege to be invited to consult, without charge, with the executives and board of any institution contemplating a fund-raising campaign.

AMERICAN CITY BUREAU
1830-33 Tribune Tower, Chicago, Illinois
4201 Dover Street, El Paso, Texas
470 Fourth Avenue, New York

Folk Arts

FOLK ARTS CENTER, 673 Fifth Avenue, New York. Elizabeth Burchenal, Director. A national service for Folk Arts. Headquarters of the American Folk Dance Society and the National Committee on Folk Arts of the United States.

Foreign Communities

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF IMMIGRANT WELFARE—1270 Sixth Avenue, New York. A league of International Institutes, Citizenship Councils and other local agencies specializing in the interests of the foreign-born. Gives consultation, field service, program content to agencies engaged in any form of constructive effort for the foreign-born in local communities.

Foundations

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR THE BLIND, INC.—15 West 16th Street, New York. A national organization for research and field service. Activities include: assistance to state and local agencies in organizing activities and promoting legislation; research in legislation, vocations, statistics, and mechanical appliances for the blind; maintenance of a reference lending library. M. C. Migel, President; Robert B. Irwin, Executive Director.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION—For the Improvement of Living Conditions—Shelby M. Harrison, General Director; 130 E. 22nd St., New York. Departments: Charity Organization, Consumer Credit Studies, Delinquency and Penology, Industrial Studies, Library, Recreation, Social Work Interpretation, Social Work Year Book, Statistics, Surveys. The publications of the Russell Sage Foundation offer to the public in practical and inexpensive form some of the most important results of its work. Catalogue sent upon request.

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Is your organization listed in the Survey's Directory of Social Agencies? If not— why not? Rates are thirty cents per line

(*Continued from page* 189)

acteristic devotion to ideals; such capacity for self-sacrifice and patience in long working hours; such humility and seriousness in the face of terrific problems.

I do not see the "current of antagonism" between professionals and laymen to which Mrs. Farlow refers. I think the new volunteer may be intimidated sometimes by the professional manner. However, the more one gets into lay-professional groups—the budget meetings, for example—and sees how fair most of the executives are, the more one is impressed with the earnest desire for cooperation on both sides. Of course there are exceptions as there would be in any mixed group.

As the profession of social work is so closely tied up with society's future, every citizen must help keep its standards high. If Mrs. Farlow's friends really are concerned, let them study the programs of the different agencies of their community and compare them with other cities. Let them study the curricula of the schools of social work, especially the one nearest home. Are she and her friends in touch with their local colleges to find out what they are doing to prepare young people to become the right kind of social workers? Do they talk over this whole problem freely with the agency people in whom they do have confidence? Most important of all, do they try to stimulate the finest young men and women to go into social work? Do they help provide scholarships so that the right caliber of young people may have the necessary postgraduate work?

To talk about "getting even" with the social workers when it comes time to contribute to the community fund, is childish. Would we cut off our own nose? How can we intentionally harm something that belongs to us? After all, the profession of social work is an outgrowth of lay activity, and a part of it. We cannot abandon our own child.

I believe in the social workers, and what they are trying to do. I believe that they accomplish more with funds at their disposal than political appointees without any training. Many complications make their progress slow, not the least of which are unprogressive board members, and doubtful "friends."

Most important for the volunteer herself is the fact that her service is a continuing education. The volunteer gets out of her rut and learns about life, about politics and what lies behind the newspaper headlines, about graft, abuses, and bad working conditions. She meets unemployment, vice and squalor and the infinite patience of human beings. She finds out where idealism is impractical and she gains a surprising perspective on hitherto casually accepted comforts in her own life. Volunteer service is training for those wider responsibilities which fall to her as she grows older: the management of money, political influence, board memberships, social leadership. She learns, in short, to function intelligently in community life instead of being merely a bystander.

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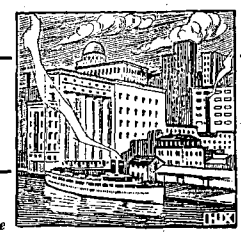
Rainier Park

Associate and Special Group Meetings

Consultations—Exhibits



Seattle

The following organizations, meeting with the National Conference, invite delegates to attend their special meetings, to confer about specific professional problems, to view their exhibits and displays.

AMERICAN ASS'N OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE meetings:
"Birth Control as a Public Health Service", June 27.
"Organization and Administration of Clinical Service", June 28.
"Birth Control and Eugenics", June 30.
First Methodist Church

AMERICAN LEGION
National Child Welfare Division

AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION meetings:
- See program for National Conference
- Consultation service and exhibits

AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION
50 West 50 Street, New York, N. Y.
Ask for free lists of books, pamphlets, films, exhibits and other materials.

CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.
Consultation at Booth
Afternoon Sessions: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday —Plymouth Congregational Church
Luncheon Meeting: Wednesday noon
Dinner Meeting: Thursday evening, Gowman Hotel

CHURCH CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
Federal Council of Churches
Programs available at 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS, INC.
Consultation Service, Edmond Meany Hotel

EPISCOPAL SOCIAL WORK CONFERENCE
Theme: The Church's Interest in the Community, The Isolated, Industry and Labor, and Youth.
Rev. Almon R. Pepper, Ex. Sec. Programs available at 281 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

FAMILY WELFARE ASS'N OF AMERICA:
See National Conference program for meetings; at Senator Auditorium display of books, pamphlets, THE FAMILY; Case Record Exhibit.

LIFE INSURANCE ADJUSTMENT BUREAU
Hotel Mayflower, June 28, 2 P.M.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GOODWILL INDUSTRIES
Meeting—Plymouth Congregational Church 2 P.M. June 28.
Consultations at Goodwill Industries Booth

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE
Luncheon meeting: June 29, Y.M.C.A.
Consultation Service.
Speakers: Hon. Lewis B. Schwellenbach; Homer Folks

NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
June 28—Breakfast for Y.W.C.A. delegates
June 29—Luncheon with Church Council of Social Work and Episcopal Social Work Council
June 30—National Board Y.W.C.A. dinner

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH SOCIAL WELFARE
1938 Meeting — Hotel Willard, Washington, D.C., May 28-31.
Special train leaves noon Saturday, May 28.
For reservations, program information, etc. write M. W. Beckelman, Secretary, 67 West 47th Street, New York.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
Tuesday breakfast and Thursday dinner meetings for Y.M.C.A. people.
Consultation and information at Association Press booth.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS, INC.
26th Conference, Hotel Roosevelt, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, June 1st to 5th.
At Seattle: Tuesday, June 28th, 4 P.M., Plymouth Congregational Church, Room 30.

NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION
June 24 to 29, Olympic Hotel
Subjects: probation, parole, juvenile courts, community preventive movements.

NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION
Delegates invited to visit headquarters booth. Conference program will list hours for special consultation service. Round table conference 2 P.M. June 28 on rehabilitation of tuberculosis patients; two speakers and informal discussion. Staff members in attendance, Holland Hudson, Mrs. Florence Breed and F. D. Hopkins.

THE RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION
Invites delegates to the Seattle Conference to visit its large display of books, pamphlets, and bibliographies of interest to social workers. Several staff members will be available for consultation.

SEAMEN'S AGENCIES
Workers from West Coast Agencies will discuss: more effective service for individual seamen; social and religious activities; relief and credit policies; community support; and (jointly with the N. I. I. W.) citizenship, employment and relief problems of foreign-born seamen.

SOCIAL WORK PUBLICITY COUNCIL
Display of portfolios—round tables on techniques—"After Hours"—Consultation service—Joint sessions on interpretation.

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.
Survey Graphic and Survey Midmonthly
Book Exhibits

65th National Conference of Social Work

1913 Seattle 1938

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